

• LITERATURE. 1901 •

SELECTIONS FROM

LONGFELLOW

Notes by STRANG & MOORE

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ENGLISH POETICAL LITERATURE FOR 1891

FOR

University Matriculation and Departmental Leaving Examination

LONGFELLOW'S
EVANGELINE

AND

SIXTEEN OF HIS SHORTER POEMS

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTIONS, AND
NOTES ON THE POEMS

BY

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Toronto

THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, LIMITED

1890

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P R E F A C E .

In sending forth this edition of the Poetical Literature prescribed for the University and Departmental Examinations of next year, the editors take the opportunity to express their sincere thanks for the favorable reception their previous issues have met with at the hands of their fellow teachers throughout the Province.

Owing to the change in the Regulations no attempt has been made this time to deal with the subject of prose. As to what they have tried to do for the poetry, they cannot do better, perhaps, than repeat the following paragraph from last year's preface :

“The object of the introduction is to enable students to understand clearly what manner of man the writer was, under what circumstances he wrote the poems to be studied, and by what influences he was likely to be affected, and also to call attention to some of the leading characteristics of his style ; that of the notes to lighten the labor of both teachers and students, and to lead the latter to observe and to judge for themselves. If the notes err on the side of fulness it is because the editors have kept in mind the case of candidates studying by themselves, and of others who may not have ready access to good works of reference.”

The text of the poems has been taken from Routledge's excellent edition, and in preparing the Introduction and Notes free use has been made of Robertson's *Life of Longfellow* in the “Great Writers” Series, and of the *Evangeline* and *Studies in Longfellow* in the “Riverside Literature” Series.

The editors, while hoping that the result of their efforts will be found as helpful and as worthy of favor as in previous years regret that owing to the late period at which the task was undertaken, and to the pressure of other duties, the work has been more hurriedly done, and the book later in being issued than is desirable.

In conclusion, as this may be the last time that they appear before the public in this capacity, the nominally senior editor wishes to say that in this case, as heretofore, the bulk of the work has been done by Mr. Moore, that the Introduction and the greater part of the notes appear substantially as written by him, and that the senior editor's share has simply been to suggest, revise, and make such few alterations or additions as he thought best.

GODERICH, July, 1890.

LIFE OF LONGFELLOW.

Longfellow was of New England stock. A John Alden and a Priscilla Mullens, * who came out together in the *Mayflower*, by their union became the ancestors of Zilpah Wadsworth, the poet's mother. About sixty years later a William Longfellow, from Yorkshire, like the Puritan Priscilla first mentioned, settled in Massachusetts, and was the ancestor of Stephen, the poet's father. His mother's people were at first in no way distinguished, and the earlier Longfellows had but indifferent headpieces, but as the streams of descent converged towards our poet, the refining influence of education and wealth, or the mysterious power of natural selection began to be felt. Thus in the times of the Revolution one grandfather, Peleg Wadsworth, of Portland, in the state of Maine, figured as a General, active in the war, while about the same time, and in the same town, his other grandfather, Stephen Longfellow, became a Judge of Common Pleas.

Here in February, 1807, Henry Wadsworth was born, the second of a family of eight. His father, a graduate of Harvard Law School, a refined, scholarly and religious man, bestowed every attention on his children's education and manners. His mother knew but little else than her Bible and Psalm book, but was esteemed by all as a lady of piety and Christian endeavor, and transmitted her gentle nature as well as her handsome features to her favorite son. He grew up, a slim, long-legged lad, quite averse to sport or rude forms of exercise, and from his earliest school going was studious in the extreme. It is in-

* The original of the Maiden who says to John Alden in *Miles Standish*, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?"

teresting to note his favorite books. He loved *Cowper's poems*, *Lalla Rookh*, *Ossian*, the *Arabian Nights*, and *Don Quixote*, but above all he was enamored of the *Sketch Book*. In the few boyish attempts at verse-writing which are preserved we can scarcely see either the fruit of his reading or the germ of his future excellence. The child was not in his case the promise of the man.

Longfellow carried his studious habits, his shyness, and his slowness of speech to Bowdoin College.* Some of his classmates there were afterwards men of note, *e. g.*, Abbott, the historian; Pierce, the politician; and Cheever, the preacher and author; but undoubtedly the most eminent of all was Nathaniel Hawthorne. Longfellow graduated with distinction when but nineteen, and was one of the orators of his year. Just here an incident occurred which shows how often mere chance has the shaping of a career. At this final examination a leading trustee of the College was so taken with Longfellow's translation of an ode of Horace, that he proposed him for the new Chair of Modern Languages, then just established. The Board agreed, his father was willing to bear the expense, and so this youth of twenty was shipped off to Europe to fit himself by study and travel for his new duties. During his college course he had contributed some twenty poems to the pioneer literary magazines, the *Monthly Magazine* and the *Gazette*, but these, although marked by purity and graceful language, certainly showed little originality or scope of fancy.

He remained in France, chiefly in Paris, and vicinity, eight months, a close student of the French language and literature. Thence, in February, 1827, he set out for Spain, on a similar errand, and while in Madrid he made the acquaintance of Washington Irving, then engaged on his life of Columbus. We next find him at Rome (December), and a year after in Germany. Letters from all these places were frequent, but it is

* At Brunswick, Maine.

something of a wonder that they are of so little worth, and contain no description, no observations of any acuteness or value. Probably language-learning consumed his time, and he trusted to his retentive memory for the rest. Years after, these memories of travel are reproduced in both prose and poetry, and seem to lose but little in vividness by their delayed utterance. At length the traveller-student returned to his native land, and became, at the age of twenty-two, Professor of Modern Languages in his own Alma Mater. And there is little doubt that at that time and in that walk he was the best furnished Professor in all America.

Behold now Longfellow a full-fledged professor, amiable, of gentlemanly manners, handsome, and just turned twenty-two. Industrious, too, neglecting no interest of his pupils, and as a natural consequence from so many virtues greatly beloved of all. Just two years after his assumption of the professor's robe, he married Mary Potter, the daughter of his father's most intimate friend. Then followed a few years of perfect happiness, of congenial labor, * of scholarly associates, and with the companionship of a beautiful and intelligent woman.

There seems to have been leisure also for production, for in 1833 appeared his first volume, a translation from a dull Spaniard. But in the same year appeared something of much more interest, the first part of *Outre-Mer, A Pilgrimage beyond Sea*. In this pleasant and at the time very popular book, we find the record of his European tour.

The influence of the *Sketch Book* is apparent, and he openly enough imitates both Irving and Goldsmith. The style, indeed, is as graceful as Irving's style, but the descriptions are more downright, and wanting in his delicate touches, while his humor is almost entirely wanting. However devoid of interest *Outre-Mer* may now be, after the lapse of nearly sixty years,

* The drudgery of the elementary work was done by assistants; he lectured on the literature, and heard translations in French, Spanish, and Italian.

when half the descriptions would not be true, and when the moralisings would be thought commonplace, it had a considerable effect on Longfellow's fortunes.

At the end of 1834 he was offered a similar Professorship at Harvard, at the largely increased salary of fifteen hundred dollars. As he was weakest in German and the Teutonic languages generally, he was allowed a year's travel before entering on his duties, and his wife and he set out in the spring of 1835. In London, during a three weeks' stay, they visited a few celebrities, Carlyle the chief; thence they went to Stockholm and Copenhagen, and afterwards to Amsterdam, where he again became the earnest student of languages. It was at Rotterdam that Longfellow experienced the first and greatest sorrow of an exceptionally fortunate and favored life. Here his wife fell ill and died, after a lingering and painful illness. Of a nature reticent and retiring, that shrank from the exposure of his inmost feelings, the depth of the loss to him we can never fully know, but that she ever remained a sad and tender memory we have ample evidence from his poems. *

In the spring he went on to Heidelberg, where he made the acquaintance of several German literati, and for the first time met Bryant. Some pleasure he took with those friends about the old University town, but the bulk of the time was dogged study, given to Goethe, Tieck, Richter, and other authors. In the summer we find him in the Tyrol, in the autumn at Interlaken, and in December of the same year (1836), back at Harvard, entering on his duties.

He took up lodgings at Craigie House, once the abode of George Washington for some months after the battle of Bunk-

* With a slow and noiseless footstep,
Comes that messenger divine,
Takes the vacant chair beside me,
Lays her gentle hand in mine,
And she sits and gazes at me,
With those deep and tender eyes.—*Footsteps of Angels*.

er's H even occupying his very room. Here after a while Hawthorne renewed his acquaintance, sending him a copy of his *Twice-told Tales*, which Longfellow very kindly reviewed in the *North American*. At Harvard, Longfellow had less to do than at Bowdoin, and had therefore more leisure for purely literary work. His lot was, indeed, a fortunate and enviable one; a long life still before him, perfect health, an honorable and not burdensome position, a comfortable home, no money anxieties, and a few scholarly men of his own age* to give him counsel and perhaps suggestions. This last was the stimulus that Longfellow needed. He resumed his versemaking, submitting it from time to time to the kindly criticism of his friends. The first published was *Flowers*, and the second the *Psalm of Life*, July, 1838,† appearing anonymously in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. In 1839 a volume was issued with the title *Voices of the Night*, including the above and the other pieces usually so headed in the editions of his poems, together with his earlier poems and a few translations.

A few months previously he had published *Hyperion*, his prose romance. The hero, Paul Flemming, is no doubt himself, the heroine, Mary Ashburton, was with as little doubt a Miss Frances Appleton, whom he had met when at Interlaken. So evident is the suggestion and portrayal of scenes and incidents occurring only in her company that the poet's mind is plainly disclosed, and clearly presages some coming events. Indeed, the spring and motive was so apparent as to give rise to the charge of indelicacy.

He has managed in this book to impart a great amount of local colour by criticisms and quotations from German authors

*Four friends with himself called themselves the "Five of Clubs," and took dinners in his rooms, or elsewhere, at which their own literary ventures and those of others were discussed.

† Of the earlier poems, written for the most part at College before he was nineteen he says: "Some have found their way into schools; others lead a vagabond and precarious existence in the corners of newspapers." The best is perhaps "The Burial of the Minnihiuk."

and renderings from German song. *Hyperion* was no doubt a bid for the primacy in American prose fiction. With more narrative than *Outre-Mer* it is not nearly so good as to style; is as subjective as the former is objective, and is too frequently moralising and sentimental. *Hyperion* is still read and is still interesting, and its strictures on men and books are still of some value as *mere* literature. But of German philosophy Longfellow had no grasp, and he may be said wholly to ignore those great social and scientific trends of human action and thought which now engage to some extent the pen of every great traveller and novelist.

His diary shows us that several schemes of future works were at this time developing in the poet's mind, but we must leave the names and the consideration of these to another place. In 1842 he made a trip to England on the score of health, and while there visited Dickens, and otherwise thoroughly enjoyed himself. While returning he wrote on shipboard his poems on Slavery, published this same year, of which the *Slave's Dream* and the *Quadroon* are the strongest and best. Next year came the realization of Mary Ashburton. Miss Appleton had been seriously offended by the too evident references of *Hyperion*, but she finally succumbed to the combined attractions of his handsome person, his assured position, and his growing fame.

The bride's father, who was a wealthy man, did not allow his daughter to go unportioned. He bought the Craigie House and estate, and presented them to the newly married couple. For the rest of his life Longfellow was thus in easy circumstances, not dependent on his professorship or the sale of his works. Few poets have had their lines cast in such pleasant places—an ample fortune, a beautiful young wife, the prospect of gaining an assured place in the affections of his countrymen, and all these at the early age of 36. Yet his innate modesty still remained, and stranger still, his industry did not slacken.

In the same year as his marriage Longfellow published the *Spanish Student*, his best dramatic poem. The plot is a commonplace one. The heroine, a Gypsy dancer, is unnatural in her want of passion; the hero, a student madly in love with the aforesaid maiden, is spiritless and quite too metaphysical and instructive in his conversation. There is no deep emotion in the play, and as Longfellow has nowhere else displayed any sense of the comic or ridiculous, he has been suspected of cribbing his best character.* Some fine descriptions, some moral reflections, some pretty songs † adapt it well enough for parlor theatricals, but there is not strength enough in it to make a stage success.

In 1845 appeared a work written to order, *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*, four hundred and more translations from a dozen different languages, a few by Longfellow himself, as were also the critical introductions. In November of the same year he began the *Old Clock on the Stairs*. A fortnight later his diary says: "Set about *Gabrielle*, my idyl in hexameters, in "earnest. I do not mean to let a day go by without adding "something to it, if it be but a single line. Felton and Sumner "are both doubtful of the measure. To me it seems the only one "for such a poem." After several changes of name it was finally christened *Evangeline*. The discussion of this and of some other pieces in his volume of 1846, will be found elsewhere. In 1849, two years after *Evangeline* appeared, he published *Kavanagh*, a tale of New England life, about which no one ever has been or ever will be in raptures. The scenes are true enough, but in the humdrum affairs of a country village, there are not many worth depicting. Longfellow seems to have been quite incapable of understanding that a plot is one great essential to an interesting story. Next year, however, his new volume of poems contained two pieces which would have atoned

* Chispa.

† The prettiest is "Stars of the Summer Night," set to music by many composers, but perhaps best by Henry Smart and J. L. Hatton.

for a much duller tale than *Kavanagh*, namely, *Resignation* and *The Building of the Ship*. This last, modelled as to form on Schiller's *Song of the Bell*, is one of the noblest of Longfellow's poems, and the concluding lines * have always been enthusiastically received by American audiences.

The Golden Legend (1851) is of the 13th century, and attempts the reproduction of Mediaeval machinery. Bands of angels, troops of devils, Lucifer himself, monks and choristers and minnesingers are the *dramatis personæ*. A Mystery or Miracle play is introduced, as are also a friar's sermon, and here and there Latin hymns. As an imitation and illustration of the superstitions, customs and manners of the Middle Ages, it must be considered as both successful and instructive. As the burden of the play is the misleading of a Prince by the Evil One, and the treatment not dissimilar, it might almost be called a version of Goethe's *Faust*.

Hitherto nearly all Longfellow's work had an Old World coloring, born of a student's natural reverence for the past, and his sojourn in lands richer in poetic material than his native America. But *Hiawatha* was distinctly a venture in a quite original field. Pope saw in the Indian only an object of compassion; Fenimore Cooper invested him with some dignity and other virtues; Longfellow found in him and his surroundings material for poetry! But this was before the advent of the white man,

“In his great canoe with pinions,
From the regions of the morning,
From the shining land of Wabun.”

*Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State;
Sail on, O Union, strong and great

We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope! etc.

before the use of firearms and firewater had begun their deadly work,

“When wild in native woods the noble savage ran.”

It seemed fit to Longfellow that a new measure not hitherto used for the poetry of civilization should be the vehicle of its presentation. This he found in the great Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*. The Finnish poetry, like the early Anglo Saxon, had as a distinguishing feature, regularly recurring alliteration ; and, in addition, what has been called parallel structure, *i. e.*, the repetition in successive lines of a word or phrase at the beginning. Longfellow omitted much of the former, but made large use of the latter.* He got his material from the Indian legends current in New England, and from Schoolcraft’s *Indians of the U.S.* The song of *Hiawatha*, however, is not a continuous epic narrative, but a series of hymns, descriptive of episodes in the life of a mythical Indian chief, and the unrhymed swinging of the short trochaic lines seems not ill adapted for the desired effect of unusualness and of being native to the soil as a purely New World product. Its success was marvellous. Vast editions of the poem were sold during the half-dozen years succeeding its first issue (1855). “The charms of “the work are many ; the music is deftly managed ; the ear

* One example from the *Peace Pipe* will suffice to explain this ; it occurs in the address of Manitou (the Great Spirit) to his people ; the recurring words are italicised.

Listen to the words of wisdom,
Listen to the words of warning,
From the lips of the Great Spirit,
From the Master of Life who made you.

I have given you lands to hunt in,
I have given you streams to fish in,
I have given you bear and bison,
I have given you roe and reindeer,
I have given you brant and beaver,
Filled the marshes full of wild fowl,
Filled the rivers full of fishes ;
Why then are you not contented ?
Why then will you hunt each other ?

"does not tire of the short-breathed lines; no poet but Longfellow could have come out of the difficult experiment thus triumphantly; the poet has adorned the naked legends of Schoolcraft with all sorts of enrichment; it is highly improbable that the Red Indian will ever again receive an apotheosis so beautiful as this at the hands of any poet." *

In 1857 when the *Atlantic Monthly* was launched, with J. R. Lowell, as editor, Longfellow became a regular contributor, and in the succeeding twenty years contributed to it about forty poems. In 1858 appeared *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, a second trial of hexameter verse. The stern Puritans and their sombre religious views furnish but indifferent material for poetry, and the poem, though not wanting in many beautiful lines and descriptions, is manifestly inferior to *Evangeline*. Four years before, he had resigned his professorship in order to give his whole time to literary labor. He continued to reside at Craigie House with his wife and children, a truly beautiful and loving household. In the summers they were to be found at Nahant, a pleasant seaside village near Boston. Here in a great frame house of many rooms Longfellow passed the hot season, and sometimes entertained a friend, for he was much given to hospitality.

But in the full flower of his fame, and in the perfection of his powers, the second great calamity of his life overtook him. In 1861 his wife's clothing accidentally caught fire, and she was so severely burned that she lived but a few days. The poet, as in the case of his first wife, made no loud demonstration of grief, but, for that very reason perhaps, the shock to him was the more serious. From that day he rapidly and visibly aged; his wonted erectness and alertness sensibly diminished, some of his constant cheerfulness deserted him—even his diary and methodical habits of study were for a long time intermittent.

* From Robertson's *Life of Longfellow*.

The plan of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863) was, no doubt, suggested by the *Canterbury Tales*. A landlord, a student, and a Jew, a theologian, a musician, a Sicilian and a poet meet at a Wayside Inn, and each tells a story for the amusement of the company. The Landlord's Tale, *Paul Revere's Ride*, has always been popular; the others, while not equal to it, have perhaps not been appreciated in the degree they merit. The Prelude, describing the characters, is superior to the majority of the tales themselves in this respect, being, as some think, similar to Chaucer's *Prologue*.*

In 1868 Longfellow revisited the old world, and remained about a year and a half, visiting England mainly, but going as far as Italy. He was much lionized, as became the most famous and popular poet of America. Cambridge and Oxford gave him honorary degrees, all sorts of people were anxious to invite him to dinner, Mr. Gladstone shook him warmly by the hand, and even Royalty itself requested the honor of his company. He got back to Craigie House about the time of the publication of the last volume of his *Dante*.

He had been at work for years on this translation of *The Divine Comedy*. His success as a skilful translator had been very great. He had that artistic taste, that fine literary instinct, that fastidiousness as to form and sound, which a good translator must have. His work has been severely criticised on the score of its extreme literalness, which, indeed, is surprising in a verse translation. The beginner in Italian who uses Longfellow as a "crib," will scarcely need a dictionary. "This method of literal translation is not likely to receive any more splendid illustration; throughout the English world his name will always be associated with that of the great Florentine." If Longfellow had attempted the other method of

*The scenes and characters are not imaginary, but drawn from the author's experience. The "Wayside Inn" was a tavern in Sudbury: its proprietor "the landlord;" the "musician" was Ole Bull, the noted violinist, etc.

translation, had ignored the mere syntax and word equivalence, had tried to reproduce the inner meaning and power of the great original, wherein is sounded the whole gamut of woe and despair, would he have succeeded? It is very doubtful; and competent judges have thought that he chose the wiser part. The measure of the poem is adopted, but not the rhyming; the impassioned spirit, the heat and the light of the Italian are wanting, but on the whole it is a most beautiful version.

The *Hanging of the Crane*, 1874, is one of the most admired of his poems. As a beautiful picture of the formation of a household, and a poetic illustration of that family life which is said to be distinctive of the English races, we are sure no nobler example can be found. It is said to have been written in honor of Thomas Bailey Aldrich and his young wife. Many poems not mentioned in this short sketch also appeared in separate volumes from year to year. We can only mention *Keramos* (1878). With this appeared the last flight (the 5th) of his *Birds of Passage*. The first appeared with *Miles Standish*, the second with *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, the third and fourth with other volumes. These *Flights* include some of the best of his shorter pieces, as *On the Fiftieth Birthday of Agassiz*, the *Children's Hour*, etc.

Ultima Thule was the title of his last volume (1880), which contained a selection of his latest and best occasional pieces. In the early days of March, 1882, he wrote his last poem (*The Bells of San Blas*). And on the 24th of the same month this most gentle, beloved, and popular of all the American poets was gathered to his fathers.

We may well say that by his death a nation was plunged into mourning. He was absolutely without personal enemies. His sweet and sunny nature had endeared him to the Americans, as did also the general character of his poetry, the incentives to manly endeavor, the steady encouragement to something better, higher, and purer, the unflinching faith in God's good-

ness. What short of the best could be the reward of this good and great man of blameless life, whose work had ever the loftiest aims? May we not well trust the burden of his own requiem, chanted as the bearers lowered his body to mother earth.

He is dead, the sweet musician !
He is gone from us forever !
He has moved a little nearer
To the Master of all music,
To the Master of all singing ! *

List of Poems referring to incidents in the poet's life :

Miles Standish.	Psalm of Life.
Footsteps of Angels.	The Old Clock on the Stairs.
To the River Charles.	A Gleam of Sunshine.
The two Angels.	My Lost Youth.
The Children's Hour.	Three Friends of Mine.
Morituri Salutamus.	From My Arm Chair.
In the Long Watches of the Night.	Tales of a Wayside Inn.

* XV. Hiawatha's Lamentation.

CHRONOLOGICAL PARALLEL.

LONGFELLOW'S LIFE AND WORKS.		AMERICAN LITERATURE.	ENGLISH LITERATURE.
1807	Born at Portland, Feb. 27.	Whittier, Agassiz, Hawthorne, <i>b.</i>	<i>Hours of Idleness, Marmion</i> (1808).
1809		Holmes, Poe, <i>b.</i> , Irving's <i>Hist. of New York.</i>	<i>Gertrude of Wyoming, Queen Mab, Curse of Kehama, Lady of Lake</i> (1810).
1812		<i>Thanatopsis.</i>	Dickens, Browning <i>b.</i> , Thackeray, 1811, <i>Childe Harold</i> , Cantos I., II.
1814		Motley, <i>b.</i>	<i>Waverley, The Excursion.</i>
1816		Heavyscge, <i>b.</i>	<i>Old Mortality, Christabel, Lalla Rookh</i> (1817).
1818			<i>Endymion, Childe Harold</i> complete.
1819		Lowell, Whitman, <i>b.</i>	Ruskin <i>b.</i> , <i>Ivanhoe, Prometheus Unbound.</i>
1822	Goes to Bowdoin.	<i>Bracebridge Hall, The Spy.</i>	Macaulay's <i>Essay on Milton.</i>
1825	Graduates.		
1826	Goes to Europe—at Paris.		
1827	At Madrid, at Rome	Dana's <i>Buccaneers</i> , Hal-leck's 1st vol. Cooper's <i>Prairie.</i>	
1828	In Germany.	Irving's <i>Columbus.</i>	Tennyson's 1st vol. 1830.
1829	Professor at Bow-doin.	Poe's 1st volume.	
1831	Marriage.	1832, Bryant's 1st. volume, Irving's <i>Alhambra.</i>	1832, Scott <i>d.</i>
1833	First Volume — a Translation.		Tennyson's 2nd vol. <i>Sartor Resartus.</i>
1834	Professor at Har- vard.		
1835	<i>Outre Mer</i> , Revisits Europe, death of wife.	<i>Two Years before the Mast.</i>	Browning's <i>Paracelsus.</i>
1836	At Harvard, 1837 <i>Psalm of Life.</i>	1837, <i>Ferdinand and Isabella, Twice Told Tales, Sam Slick.</i>	1837, <i>Pickwick Papers, Carlyle's Fr. Revolution.</i>
1839	<i>Voices of the Night, Hyperion.</i>	Bret Harte, <i>b.</i> , Whittier's Ballads (1838).	
1840	<i>Wreck of the Hes-perus.</i>	Bancroft's <i>History of Col-onization.</i>	
1841	<i>Excelsior:</i>	Emerson's 1st series of Essays, Lowell's 1st vol. of poems.	
1842	3rd visit to Europe, <i>Poems on Slavery.</i>	Channing, <i>d.</i>	Macaulay's <i>Lays, Locksley Hall.</i>
1843	<i>Spanish Student,</i> 2nd Marriage.	<i>Conquest of Mexico.</i>	Dickens' <i>American Notes, Modern Painters.</i>
1845	<i>Poets and Poetry of Europe.</i>	Poe's <i>Raven.</i>	Carlyle's <i>Cromwell.</i>

	LONGFELLOW'S LIFE AND WORKS.	AMERICAN LITERATURE.	ENGLISH LITERATURE.
1846	<i>The Belfry of Bruges</i>	Agassiz at Harvard, Emerson's 1st vol. of poems, <i>Mosses from an old Manse</i> .	<i>Vanity Fair</i> .
1847	<i>Evangeline</i> .	<i>Conquest of Peru</i> , Holmes at Harvard; 1848, <i>Biglow Papers</i> .	<i>The Princess</i> .
1849	<i>Kavanagh</i> .	Poe d., Emerson's <i>Representative Men</i> , Irving's <i>Goldsmith</i> .	Macaulay's <i>Hist. of Eng.</i> , <i>Pendennis</i> , <i>David Copperfield</i> .
1850	<i>The Building of the Ship</i> .	Whittier's <i>Songs of Labor</i> , <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> , <i>The Scarlet Letter</i> , Irving's <i>Mahomet</i> .	Wordsworth d., <i>In Memoriam</i> , <i>Ode on death of Wellington</i> .
1851	<i>The Golden Legend</i> .	<i>House of Seven Gables</i> , Cooper, Webster, Clay, d. Lowell succeeds him.	<i>Henry Esmond</i> .
1854	Resigns Professorship.		
1855	<i>Hiawatha</i> .	<i>Leaves of Grass</i> , Prescott's <i>Philip II</i> .	<i>The Newcomes</i> .
1856		Emerson's <i>Eng. Traits</i> , <i>The Dutch Republic</i> .	
1857		<i>Autocrat of the Breakfast Table</i> , Heavysege's <i>Saul</i> . <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> begun.	
1858	<i>Miles Standish</i> .	Prescott d. (1859).	Carlyle's <i>Frederick the Great</i> , Macaulay, De Quincy d. (1859).
1861	Death of 2nd wife.	1860, <i>The United Netherland's</i> , Sangster's <i>Hesperus</i> .	Mrs. Browning d.
1863	<i>Tales of a Wayside Inn</i> .	Whittier's <i>In War Time</i> .	
1864		Hawthorne d., Heavysege's <i>Jephtha's Daughter</i> .	
1868		Emerson's 2nd volume of poems.	Browning's <i>Ring and the Book</i> .
1869		Lowell's <i>Under the Willows</i> .	
1870	<i>Dante</i> , completed.	Emerson's 3rd volume of Essays, B. Harte's <i>Poems</i> .	
1871		Lowell's <i>My Study Windows</i> , Emerson's 4th vol.	
1873	<i>Aftermath</i> .	1872, Holmes' <i>Professor and Poet at the Breakfast Table</i> .	
1874	<i>The Hanging of the Crane</i> .	Whittier's <i>Mabel Martin</i> , Agassiz, d., Bancroft's <i>Hist. of America</i> , completed.	
1875		Emerson's <i>Letters and Social Aims</i> .	
1876		Whittier's <i>Centennial Hymn</i> , Gabriel Conroy.	
1878	<i>Keramos</i> .	Bryant d., Motley d. (1877).	
1880	<i>Ultima Thule</i> .	Lowell, Minister at London.	
1882	Death, March 24.		

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

HISTORICAL GROUND WORK FOR *EVANGELINE*.

In April, 1713, was signed the treaty of Utrecht. By its 12th article, all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, 'comprehended within its ancient boundaries,' was ceded to the Queen of Great Britain and her crown forever. The term 'ancient boundaries,' at the time seemed explicit enough, but the limits of Acadia afterwards became a great national question, the English claiming all east of a line from the mouth of the Kennebec to Quebec as Acadia, the French restricting it to the southern half of the Nova Scotian peninsula. The inhabitants at the time numbered some twenty-five hundred souls, at the three chief settlements, Port Royal, Minas, Chignecto. They were given a year to remove with their effects, but, if electing to remain, were to have the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of England permitted, to retain their lands and enjoy their property as fully and freely as the other British subjects. But, British subjects they must be, and accordingly the oath of allegiance was tendered them. For some time there was a general refusal, because the Acadians rightly judged this carried with it the obligation of bearing arms against their countrymen. In 1730, however, Phillips, the then governor of Nova Scotia, was able to inform the Lords of the Admiralty, that all but a few families had taken the oath. But Phillips seems to have admitted, and the Acadians always afterwards assumed, that there was a tacit, if not expressed understanding, that they were to be exempt from serving against France.

Things went on with some smoothness for many years after this. But at last the thirty years' peace came to an end. France was supporting Frederick the Great of Prussia, England

Maria Theresa of Austria. War accordingly recommenced in the Colonies, and the French had hope of reconquering Acadia. But although the news of the declaration of war reached them seven weeks later, the New Englanders were the first to act. La Loutre, the French missionary, who had been ever the inveterate enemy of the English, and the fomenter of discontent among the Acadians, stirred up the Indians to attack the English at Annapolis. But they were beaten off, till Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts, sent help from Boston. In that town there was great excitement, which took the form of volunteering against Louisburg. This town was the strongest place in America. Its walls of stone were nearly two miles in circuit, and thirty feet high, surrounded by a ditch eight feet wide, and defended by a hundred and fifty cannon. The entrance at the west gate was defended by sixteen heavy guns, while the island in the harbor mouth was furnished with sixty more. No wonder then, that this great fortress was regarded with fear and hatred by all the English in America. Yet, this 'Dunkirk of America,' as the New Englanders termed it, was taken in exactly seven weeks, by an army of rustics from Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, led by a man who from his youth up had been a trader, who knew absolutely nothing of military drill or organization, and had never seen a cannon trained on an enemy.

This expedition sent by Gov. Shirley, and headed by Gen. Pepperell, and consisting of 4,000 men, 13 vessels, and 200 cannon, reached Louisburg on the 1st May, 1745. The garrison was completely surprised, and before they had recovered, the English were in possession of the outworks. In 49 days the surrender took place, and six hundred regulars, thirteen hundred militia, and some thousands of the townsfolk were shipped back to France. Hannay says, apparently with some bitterness: "The news was received in Europe with incredulous surprise. Had such a deed of arms been done in Greece, two thousand years ago, the details would have been taught in the

schools generation after generation, great poets would have wedded them to immortal verse. But as the people who won this triumph were not Greeks or Romans, but only colonists, the affair was but the talk of a day, and most of the books called histories of England, ignore it altogether." The heroism was expended in vain, for in 1748, the colonists saw with feelings of indignation, the island of Cape Breton and the fortress of Louisburg, given back to France, to become once more their menace, and once more their prize.

During all this time the Acadians were accused of acting with duplicity, secretly furnishing aid to the French, and secretly stirring up the Indians. In the summer of 1749, when Halifax was founded, Governor Cornwallis plainly told them this, and that all must take a new oath of allegiance by the end of October. If not, they must leave the country, and leave their effects behind them. This was refused, and the relations between them rapidly became strained, even to the verge of belligerence. There is no doubt that La Loutre, the missionary before mentioned, who was at that time Vicar-General of Acadia, under the Bishop of Quebec, stirred up the Micmacs to revolt, and induced the Acadians to be obstinate.

By persuasion or threats he had already induced some two thousand Acadians to leave their homes and cross the boundary. This boundary was the Missiquash river; on its north side was the fort Beau Sejour, erected by the French; and there were other forts with settlements about them at Baie Verte and St. John. Many were in a miserable condition, and wished to return to their lands, but would not take the proffered oath.* La Loutre lost no opportunities by sermons and emissaries to create ill will to the English garrisons at Minas, Piziquid, Chignecto and other places. The English complained that the Acadians were hostile in every sense, short of open rebellion,

* "Je promets et jure sincèrement que je serai fidèle, et que je porterai une loyauté parfaite vers sa Majesté George Second."

carrying their supplies of provisions across the Bay, and it even required a mandate from Halifax to induce them to sell wood to the English forts. Thus everything was ripe for war when war again began.

The commission to settle the limits of Acadia had failed, and both sides were preparing for the struggle. The English, as in 1745, were first ready to strike, and sailing from the same port of Boston, were as fortunate as before, for they succeeded in reducing the French forts at Beau Séjour, Baie Verte and St. John. In fact of the four expeditions of that year, (1755) this alone had a complete measure of success.

And now the expatriation of the Acadians was resolved on. That such an extreme measure was justifiable we can hardly believe. Yet, much can be said in extenuation. It was at the beginning of a mortal and doubtful struggle between these two nations for the supremacy of a continent. Half way measures might mean ruin. The Acadians claimed to be regarded as neutrals, yet they had not remained so; positive proof existed of their aiding the French, and stirring up the savages to revolt and rapine. Allowed the free exercise of their faith, and any number of priests, till these were found acting as political agents, with no taxation but a tithe to their own clergy, they were growing rich, and were much better off in every way than their compatriots in France, and immeasurably more so than the wretched Canadians under the rapacious Bigot. British settlement had been retarded by their presence. Surely every government had the right to demand an unconditional oath of allegiance against all enemies whatsoever.

This was the burden of Gen. Lawrence's address to the protesting delegations from the various settlements. But as they still obstinately refused the oath, active measures were at once set on foot for their removal from the colony. Expeditions were sent out to burn houses and destroy all places of shelter. Resistance was not to be anticipated, as they had been deprived

of arms some time before, yet, at Chignecto and some other places, they met with resistance, and suffered considerable loss from the French and Indians. On Minas Basin, Colonel Winslow had no opposition.

On Friday, the 5th September, all males of 10 years and upwards were ordered to attend at the church in Grand-Pré. Over four hundred attended and remained prisoners till the time of embarkation. Vessels were collected from various quarters, and as much as possible of the people's household effects was taken. Similar measures were taken at the other settlements, the troops employed doing the work of collecting the people, and embarking them as quietly and tenderly as possible. Care was taken not to separate families, but some sad separations there must have been. They were taken to Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, the Carolinas, and the West Indies. The number is much disputed. Hannay, who sums up against the Acadians on most points, puts it at a little over three thousand, two-thirds of whom after a time returned. By some the number is put as high as eight thousand, of which three thousand only returned.*

ORIGIN OF THE POEM.

It was to Hawthorne that the poet was, indirectly at least, indebted for the subject. The circumstances under which it was suggested, and the preparation made for writing the poem, are thus told in Robertson's *Life*.

* Dr. Kingsford, in the 3rd vol. of his *History of Canada*, takes an even more decided position against the Acadians than Hannay, so that Longfellow's pictures of the people and of the priests as well, would seem utterly fictitious. He makes the most sweeping charges as to the political character and motives of the French priests, their never ending intrigues, and the instigation to outrage and massacre of the savages under their spiritual control. The Acadians are represented as anything but the peace-loving, religious, hospitable and brave people that our poet pictures. He shows clearly that the kings of France and the governors of Canada made use of La Loutre for their schemes and afterwards repudiated him.

“Hawthorne one day dined at Craigie House, and brought with him a clergyman. The latter happened to remark that he had been vainly endeavoring to interest Hawthorne in a subject that he himself thought would do admirably for a story. He then related the history of a young Acadian girl, who had been turned away with her people in that dire ‘‘55,’’ thereafter became separated from her lover, wandered for many years in search of him, and finally found him in a hospital dying. ‘Let me have it for a poem, then,’ said Longfellow, and he had the leave at once. He raked up historical material from Haliburton’s ‘Nova Scotia,’ and other books, and soon was steadily building up that idyl which is his true Golden Legend. Beyond consulting records, he put together the material of *Evangeline* entirely out of his head ; that is to say, he did not think it necessary to visit Acadia and pick up local color. When a boy he had rambled about the old Wadsworth home at Hiram, climbing often to a balcony on the roof, and thence looking over great stretches of wood and hill ; and from recollections of such a scene it was comparatively easy for him to imagine the forest primeval.”

THE MEASURE OF EVANGELINE.

is what is generally called dactylic hexameter. But as the number of accents and not the number of the syllables or the quantity of the vowels, is the true criterion for English verse, we may call it the hexameter verse of six accents, the feet being either dactyls or trochees. This measure has never become very popular with English poets. The cæsural pause is usually about the middle of the line, after the accented syllable of the 3rd or 4th foot. In this measure a sing song monotony is the great evil to be guarded against, and Longfellow is very successful in avoiding an excess of it by dexterously shifting the place of the main verse pause. Trochees are inter-

changeable with dactyls, and occur very frequently everywhere, but always conclude the line.

On' the | mor'row to | me'et in the | chu'rch || when his | ma'jesty's |
ma'ndate.

And a | no'n with his | wo'oden | shoes || beat | tim'e to the | mu'sic.

The following has been pointed out as a very perfect hexameter scansion :

Chanting the | Hundredth | Psalm—that | grand old | Puritan | An-
them.

And the following is almost comic in the violent wrench the scansion gives to the natural reading of the words :

Children's | children | sa't on his | kne'e || and | hea'rd his great |
wa'tch tick.

We must be allowed to quote from the poet's most discriminating biographer ; his remarks are so telling and to the point.

"The truth is that this measure, within its proper use, should be regarded not as a bastard classicism, but as a wholly modern invention. Impassioned speech more often breaks into pentameter and hexameter than into any other measure. Longfellow himself has pointed to the splendid hexameters that abound in our Bible. 'Husbands love your wives, and be not bitter against them ;' 'God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet.' " "Would Mr. Swinburne, simply because these are English hexameters, deny their lofty beauty ? This form of verse will never, in all probability, become a favorite vehicle for poets' thoughts, but by a singular *tour de force*, Longfellow succeeded in getting rid of the popular prejudice against it, and whatever the classicists may say, he put more varied melody into his lines than Clough, Hawtrey, Kingsley, Howells or Bayard Taylor, attained in similar experiments." — *Robertson*.

Longfellow, after much thought and some experiment, decided that this was the most fitting form, and we are now certain that his fine sense of harmony and form was not at fault. The har-

monious and slightly monotonous rise and fall of this uncommon but not un-English metre, is well adapted to convey that 'lingering melancholy' which pervades the tale, and that epic simplicity was in agreement with the supposed character of a people so far removed in time from us hard headed, unromantic, and therefore unattractive moderns.

Longfellow says, in his diary : "I tried a passage of it in the common rhymed English pentameter. It is the mocking-bird's song.

"Upon a spray, that overhung the stream,
The mocking-bird, awaking from his dream,
Poured such delicious music from his throat
That all the air seemed listening to his note.
Plaintive at first the song began and slow ;
It breathed of sadness, and of pain and woe ;
Then gathering all his notes, abroad he flung
The multitudinous music from his tongue ;
As, after showers, a sudden gust again,
Upon the leaves shakes down the rattling rain."

Now, let the student compare with this the lines of *Evangeline*, (part ii., ll. 208-217) and he will be satisfied, we think, that the latter are preferable. The jingle of the rhyme and the shorter pulse of the line would have been less in agreement with that vein of protracted pathos and melancholy distinctive of the poem.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MAN AND OF HIS POETRY.

Longfellow was too broadly human to speak in the dogmatic manner of the creeds. His Unitarianism never peeps out. A poet's religion must of necessity be broad and tolerant, and Longfellow's, although truly Christian, was distinctly so. He was no controversialist or polemic ; religion was with him a matter of the heart rather than of the head. The Roman Catholics are said to have at one time thought him tending in their direction ; but the truth was simply this, that he was

easily led to commend whatever by its beauty or nobility gratified the artist instinct within him. In this way he was a religious eclectic. A child-like trust that God's way is the best, resignation to His will, and a resolve to do the duty that lies before him is the substance of Longfellow's moral philosophy. Lucifer, even,

“ . . . ‘Is God’s minister,
And labors for some good
By us not understood.’”

and again—

“ What seem to us but sad, funeral tapers
May be heaven’s distant lamps.”

Hope ever points the way, and should excite to action. His smaller pieces, such as *The Psalm*, *Excelsior*, and the *Village Blacksmith*, have been very successful, because they reflect the spirit of the Anglo-American race, their utilitarian and practical aims. To labor is our duty—success will be our reward. Do the duty that lies nearest you, and let there be no repining. Act, act in the living present.

Some have sneered at these low ideals as poem-stuff; but the fact remains that these verses have become household words, and, although we are likely to be pitied for saying so, will perhaps be treasured when the flights of Shelley or the mysteries of Browning are forgotten or are still unintelligible.

Of dramatic power Longfellow had small share, for the absence of passion alone unfitted him for the inner conflict of the spirit. His strength is in the portrayal of still life, *i.e.* external nature, or the comparatively uneventful and colorless course of domestic rural life. Of such he can see every minutest beauty, and from such extract every poetic grace.

In marking out a course for himself in the *Prelude* he says :

“ Look, then, into thy heart and write !
Yes, into Life’s deep stream !”

He never carried out his rule. It was not in his gentle, loving

nature to look on the seamy side of life. Of the "deep stream" he had little experience, and there are no great depths of sorrow or heights of joy in his life or writings. To the ear of this æsthetic *litterateur*, this accomplished disciple (not apostle) of culture and beauty, their notes ever blend in harmony—

"I heard the sounds of sorrow and delight,
The manifold, *soft chimes*,
That filled the haunted chambers of the night,
Like some old poet's rhymes."

Love, as between the sexes, has scarcely any place in Longfellow's poetry, and of his smaller pieces not one is addressed to an individual in amatory and impassioned language. His conception of their relation is purely connubial—

"As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman ;
Though she bends him she obeys him,
Though she draws him yet she follows,
Useless each without the other."

Malevolent humor forms a large portion of our dramatic literature, and Longfellow was by no means a good hater. In fact, he hated nobody and nothing. Added to all this, he was very deficient in the comic vein, and critics, with great unanimity, agree that of plot he had no just notion. Now, as we know that love, hate and jealousy, conjoined with planning, are main ingredients in the drama of life, and must be of the writing that mirrors it, we can easily see how Longfellow comes short of even moderate success in his dramatic efforts.

He shuts his eyes to the *shadows* of life ; he enjoins us to have a "heart for any fate," but he shrinks from picturing its stern and repulsive realities. Pope's sententious maxim, "Whatever is is best," is illustrated on almost every page. The devil himself we have seen to be God's minister ; the rows of beds in the hospitals are an attractive object for him ;

death is the “consoler and healer;” the grave is “a covered bridge leading from light to light.” In his sermon-poems (and what restful, joyful sermons they are) we never hear of the gloomy doctrine of eternal punishment; it would seem quite foreign to the poet’s creed.

In the imaginative faculty, that creative power that distinguishes the poetry of, say Milton and Shelley, he was lacking, but in fertility of fancy he excels; he has always an eye and an ear for the suggestive side of a theme. It is almost a mannerism of his to compare an outward fact with an inward experience; hence his seeing and searching for similes with generally successful, but sometimes doubtful or weakening effect. This facile fancy of his had hosts of imitators, but they could not embellish it with his tender and beautiful sayings, which have sunk so deeply into the hearts of the present generation.

He easily excels all poets of his day in the art of story-telling. His best stories are short enough to leave an impression of unity. Their brevity, their absence of intricate plots, the good judgment in the selection of subjects, the fitting verse-form and graceful treatment, have charmed a world of readers. He became very early aware that in this age of story-telling only the poetry that recounts will lastingly interest our boys and girls, and even our men and women. Consequently he strove to be interesting, and (as he himself confessed) to the people.

“In England Longfellow has been called the poet of the middle classes. Those classes include, however, the majority of intelligent readers, and Tennyson had an equal share of their favor. The English middle class form an analogue to the one great class of American readers. Would not any poet whose work might lack the subtlety that commends itself to professional readers be relegated by University critics to the middle-class wards? Caste and literary priesthood have some-

thing to do with this. This point taken with regard to Longfellow is not unjust. So far as comfort, virtue, domestic tenderness, and freedom from extremes of passion and incident are characteristic of the middle classes, he has been their minstrel." As Mr. Stedman hints, in writing the above, the poetry whose melody and range of thought appeal to one and all has outlasted, and will outlast, most of the poetry that requires a commentary.

Longfellow has been accused (by Poe especially) of being a plagiarist. It is true that he had but little invention, but we know that even the fields of invention have been pretty well ploughed over, and the greatest poets may be excused for borrowing theme and incident, if they transmute them into their own manner, clothe them in new language, and adorn them with new fancy. In this sense Longfellow was as original as most of his guild, and it must be confessed that he, in turn, has been freely drawn upon by others.

ELEMENTS AND QUALITIES OF STYLE.

Two characteristics of Longfellow are clearness and simplicity, alike in the vocabulary and the structure. It is true he is not so exclusively Saxon or monosyllabic in his language, but the metre chosen for *Evangeline* forced him somewhat to dissyllables and trisyllables. The structural simplicity is more marked than the verbal simplicity, agreeing perfectly with the laws of narrative. As a rule, only the simplest inversions occur, and there are probably not half a dozen instances in all the selections in which the construction is not at once apparent. In figures of speech, especially the simile, he is sometimes not very clear, *i.e.* the reader does not at once catch the likeness. To this attention has been frequently drawn in the notes. Another point should be noticed, that he is never obscure, either from excessive brevity and condensation, as Byron often

is, or from involved complex sentences. But we should say that he must frequently be obscure to many, owing to his too remote or out of the way allusions.

Picturesqueness is the middle ground between the intellectual and the emotional qualities of style, *i.e.* it assists the understanding, and, at the same time, it operates on the feelings. It is a fairly strong point with Longfellow. He makes large use of similitude. So fond, indeed, is he of comparisons for way-side flowers to adorn his narrative that the resemblance often turns upon something not sufficiently relevant to the circumstances. He makes far greater use of simile than of metaphor, to which fact is very largely owing his lack of strength. These figures are oftener, too, on the intellectual side than on the emotional side, which accounts for the criticism generally made upon him, that in vividness and strength of color he occupies but a middle place. As might be expected when such a verdict is given, transferred and single epithets are less common than phrasal and appended ones.

His strongest point is *harmony*. Rarely does he choose a metre ill-fitting his theme; and the critical world seems coming round to the belief that the metre of *Evangeline* is, after all, eminently suitable to this idyl of a primitive people. Alliteration, both open and veiled, is common with him. He is frequently imitative of sounds and onomatopoetic: favorable to words with liquid letters, and avoids harsh combinations of consonants, as, for instance, a clashing of mutes.

He is deficient in impressiveness and energy, making little use of the figures of contrast, and in general of the epigrammatic or pointed style. From the nature of his poetry, mainly narrative, he can make but little use of interrogation and climax. In *Evangeline* the monotony of the line was no doubt some hindrance. But the main reasons are no doubt connected with the emotional qualities of his style. Malevolence and strong passion of any kind, and action depending thereon, are

seldom found in his poetry ; the pathetic and the persuasive are more in consonance with even flow and melody of language.

OPINIONS AND QUESTIONS.

Everything suggested an image to him, and the imagery sometimes reacted and suggested a new thought. Thus, in *Evangeline*,

“Bent like a laboring oar that toils in the surf of the ocean”

is not a good comparison, as it suggests turmoil foreign to the life of the notary and the Acadians generally, but it suggests a new line, which somewhat restores the idea of still continuing virility—

“Bent, but not broken, by age was the form of the notary public.”

“*Evangeline* is already a little classic, and will remain one as surely as the *Vicar of Wakefield*, the *Deserted Village*, or any other sweet and pious idyl of the English tongue. There are flaws, and petty fancies, and homely passages, but it is thus far the flower of American idyls.—*Stedman*.

There is great disagreement among literary men not so much in their general estimate of his range and power as in regard to the order of excellency of his different poems. The following questions are taken, some from examination papers, and a few from Mr. Gannett’s *Outlines for the Study of Longfellow* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.):

- (1) Should you call him self-revealing or self-hiding in his poems ?
- (2) Which are the prettiest of the village scenes in *Evangeline*, in doors and out of doors ?
- (3) Who besides Longfellow has used the hexameter ? Is it right to call it an un-English metre ?
- (4) Is *Evangeline* an epic, an idyl or a tragedy ? Give your reasons.

- (5) Is the maiden strongly outlined in person and in character? Point out the lines that best describe each.
- (6) Which are the finest landscapes in *Evangeline*. Does he picture nature vividly, and to give it expression or impression?
- (7) Mention lines that justify the appellations given to him of poet of the affections, of the night, of the sea.
- (8) Can you discover the American, the Puritan, the scholar in these selections? Where?
- (9) He is said to be "intensely national" and of "universal nationality." Are these contradictory?
- (10) Mention the poems which are most American in *incident* and in *spirit*.

"Much of his time and talent was devoted to reproducing in English the work of foreign authors. In the smaller pieces his talent is most conspicuous, for in them sentiment is condensed into a few stanzas. His copious vocabulary, his sense for the value of words, his ear for rhythm, fitted him in a peculiar degree to pour fancy from one vessel into another."—*Frothingham*.

"Longfellow had not Bryant's depth of feeling for ancient history or external nature. Morality to Emerson was the very breath of existence; to Longfellow it was a sentiment. Poe's best poetic efforts are evidence of an imagination more self-sufficient than Longfellow's was. In the best of Whittier's poems, the pulse of human sympathy beats more strongly than in any of our poet's songs. Still more unlike his sentimentality is the universal range of Whitman's manly outspoken kinsmanship with all living things. How then has he outdistanced these men so easily? By virtue of his artistic eclecticism."—*Robertson*.

The full answer as given by Robertson may be summed up as follows:—He had more variety than Bryant, in measure and choice of subject; his humanitarianism is not pitched too high for common people to grasp, as Emerson's often is; he was a

man of more moral principle and common sense than Poe ; beauty and moral goodness went together with Longfellow ; by reason of his culture and learning he appealed to wider audiences than Whittier ; and lastly his poetry is wholly free from the grossness of Whitman, and, while as easily understood by the many, is at the same time more attractive in form and treatment.

(1) Has Longfellow a deep sense of the mystery of nature, or any sense of it as hate ? Point out some passages of trust and worship.

(2) Would you from your list of selections call him a religious poet ? a moral poet ?

(3) Which of his poems have " man " in thought ? Is the effect of his poetry as here given active or passive, restful or stirring, to teach duty or simply to give pleasure ? Distinguish the passages.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POETIC DICTION.*

1. It is archaic and non-colloquial.

(a) Poetry, being less conversational than prose, is less affected by the changes of a living tongue, and more influenced by the language and traditions of the poetry of past ages.

(b) Not all words are adapted for metre.

(c) Certain words and forms of expression being repeated by successive poets acquire poetic associations, and become part of the common inheritance of poets.

2. It is more picturesque than prose.

(a) It prefers specific, concrete, and vivid terms to generic, abstract, and vague ones.

(b) It often uses words in a sense different from their ordinary meaning.

* See Genung's *Rhetoric*, pp. 48-63.

(c) It often substitutes an epithet for the thing denoted.

NOTE.—Distinguish between *ornamental* epithets, added to give color, interest and life to the picture, and *essential* epithets, necessary to convey the proper meaning.

3. It is averse to lengthiness.

(a) It omits conjunctions, relative pronouns and auxiliaries, and makes free use of absolute and participial constructions.

(b) It substitutes epithets and compounds for phrases and clauses.

(c) It makes a free use of ellipsis.

(d) It avoids long common-place words.

NOTE.—Sometimes, however, for euphony, euphemism, or picturesqueness it substitutes a periphrasis for a word.

4. It pays more regard to euphony than prose does.

5. It allows inversions and constructions not used in prose.

6. It employs figures of speech much more freely than prose.

Qualities of Style.

1. Intellectual, including Clearness (opposed to Obscurity and Ambiguity), Simplicity (opposed to Abstruseness), Impressiveness and Picturesqueness.

2. Emotional, including Strength (Force), Feeling (Pathos), the Ludicrous (Wit, Humor and Satire).

3. *Æsthetic*, including Melody, Harmony (of Sound and Sense), Taste.

EVANGELINE.

A TALE OF ACADIE.

1847.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE story of "EVANGELINE" is founded on a painful occurrence which took place in the early period of British colonization in the northern part of America.

In the year 1713, Acadia, or, as it is now named, Nova Scotia, was ceded to Great Britain by the French. The wishes of the inhabitants seem to have been little consulted in the change, and they with great difficulty were induced to take the oaths of allegiance to the British Government. Some time after this, war having again broken out between the French and British in Canada, the Acadians were accused of having assisted the French, from whom they were descended, and connected by many ties of friendship, with provisions and ammunition, at the siege of Beau Séjour. Whether the accusation was founded on fact or not, has not been satisfactorily ascertained; the result, however, was most disastrous to the primitive, simple-minded Acadians. The British Government ordered them to be removed from their homes, and dispersed throughout the other colonies, at a distance from their much-loved land. This resolution was not communicated to the inhabitants till measures had been matured to carry it into immediate effect; when the Governor of the colony, having issued a summons calling the whole people to a meeting, informed them that their lands, tenements, and cattle of all kinds were forfeited to the British crown, that he had orders to remove them in vessels to distant colonies, and they must remain in custody till their embarkation.

The poem is descriptive of the fate of some of the persons involved in these calamitous proceedings.

THIS is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,
Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic,
Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that rest on their bosoms.
Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep-voiced neighbouring ocean 5
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

This is the forest primeval; but where are the hearts that beneath it
Leaped like the roe, when he hears in the wood-land the voice of the
huntsman?

Where is the thatch-roofed village, the home of Acadian farmers,
Men whose lives glided on like rivers that water the woodlands, 10

Darkened by shadows of earth, but reflecting an image of heaven ?
 Waste are those pleasant farms, and the farmers for ever departed !
 Scattered like dust and leaves, when the mighty blasts of October
 Seize them, and whirl them aloft, and sprinkle them far o'er the ocean
 Nought but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand Pré. 15

Ye who believe in affection that hopes, and endures, and is patient,
 Ye who believe in the beauty and strength of woman's devotion,
 List to the mournful tradition still sung by the pines of the forest ;
 List to a Tale of Love in Acadie, home of the happy.

PART THE FIRST.

I.

In the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Minas, 20
 Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand-Pré
 Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
 Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.
 Dikes, that the hands of the farmers had raised with labour incessant,
 Shut out the turbulent tides ; but at stated seasons the floodgates 25
 Opened, and welcomed the sea to wander at will o'er the meadows.
 West and south there were fields of flax, and orchards and cornfields
 Spreading afar and unfenced o'er the plain, and away to the northward
 Blomidon rose, and the forests old, and aloft on the mountains
 Sea-fogs pitched their tents, and mists from the mighty Atlantic 30
 Looked on the happy valley, but ne'er from their station descended.
 There, in the midst of its farms reposed the Acadian village.
 Strongly built were the houses, with frames of oak and of chestnut,
 Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reign of the Henrys.
 Thatched were the roofs, with dormer-windows ; and gables projecting. 35
 Over the basement below protected and shaded the doorway.
 There, in the tranquil evenings of summer, when brightly the sunset
 Lighted the village street, and gilded the vanes on the chimneys,
 Matrons and maidens sat in snow-white caps and in kirtles
 Scarlet and blue and green, with distaffs spinning the golden 40
 Flax for the gossiping looms, whose noisy shuttles within-doors
 Mingled their sound with the whir of the wheels and the songs of the maidens.
 Solemnly down the street came the parish priest, and the children

Paused in their play to kiss the hand he extended to bless them.
 Reverend walked he among them; and up rose matrons and maidens, 45
 Hailing his slow approach with words of affectionate welcome.
 Then came the labourers home from the field, and serenely the sun sank
 Down to his rest, and twilight prevailed. Anon from the belfry
 Softly the Angelus sounded, and over the roofs of the village
 Columns of pale blue smoke, like clouds of incense ascending, 50
 Rose from a hundred hearths, the homes of peace and contentment.
 Thus dwelt together in love these simple Acadian farmers,—
 Dwelt in the love of God and of man. Alike were they free from
 Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy, the voice of republics.
 Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows ; 55
 But their dwellings were open as day and the hearts of the owners ;
 There the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance.
 Somewhat apart from the village, and nearer the Basin of Minas,
 Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand-Pré,
 Dwelt on his goodly acres ; and with him, directing his household, 60
 Gentle Evangeline lived, his child, and the pride of the village.
 Stalworth and stately in form was the man of seventy winters ;
 Hearty and hale was he, an oak that is covered with snow-flakes ;
 White as the snow were his locks, and his cheeks as brown as the oak-
 leaves.
 Fair was she to behold, that maiden of seventeen summers. 65
 Black were her eyes as the berry that grows on the thorn by the
 way-side,
 Black, yet how softly they gleamed beneath the brown shades of her
 treasures !
 Sweet was her breath as the breath of kine that feed in the meadows.
 When in the harvest heat she bore to the reapers at noontide
 Flagons of home-brewed ale, ah ! fair in sooth was the maiden. 70
 Fairer was she when, on Sunday morn, while the bell from its turret
 Sprinkled with holy sounds the air, as the priest with his hyssop
 Sprinkles the congregation, and scatters blessings upon them,
 Down the long street she passed, with her chaplet of beads and her
 missal,
 Wearing her Norman cap, and her kirtle of blue, and the ear-rings, 75
 Brought in the olden time from France, and since, as an heir-loom,
 Handed down from mother to child, through long generations.
 But a celestial brightness—a more ethereal beauty—
 Shone on her face and encircled her form, when, after confession,
 Homeward serenely she walked with God's benediction upon her. 80

When she had passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music.
 Firmly builded with rafters of oak, the house of the farmer
 Stood on the side of a hill commanding the sea ; and a shady
 Sycamore grew by the door, with a woodbine wreathing around it.
 Rudely carved was the porch, with seats beneath ; and a footpath 85
 Led through an orchard wide, and disappeared in the meadow.
 Under the sycamore-tree were hives overhung by a penthouse,
 Such as the traveller sees in regions remote by the road-side,
 Built o'er a box for the poor, or the blessed image of Mary.
 Farther down, on the slope of the hill, was the well with its moss-
 grown 90

Bucket, fastened with iron, and near it a trough for the horses.
 Shielding the house from storms, on the north, were the barns and the
 farmyard ;
 There stood the broad-wheeled wains and the antique ploughs and the
 harrows ;
 There were the folds for the sheep ; and there, in his feathered seraglio,
 Strutted the lordly turkey, and crowed the cock, with the selfsame 95
 Voice that in ages of old had startled the penitent Peter.
 Bursting with hay were the barns, themselves a village. In each one
 Far o'er the gable projected a roof of thatch ; and a staircase,
 Under the sheltering eaves, led up to the odorous corn-loft.
 There too the dove-cot stood, with its meek and innocent inmates 100
 Murmuring ever of love ; while above in the variant breezes
 Numberless noisy weathercocks rattled and sang of mutation.

Thus, at peace with God and the world, the farmer of Grand-Pré
 Lived on his sunny farm, and Evangeline governed his household.
 Many a youth, as he knelt in the church and opened his missal, 105
 Fixed his eyes upon her, as the saint of his deepest devotion ;
 Happy was he who might touch her hand or the hem of her garment !
 Many a suitor came to her door, by the darkness befriended,
 And as he knocked and waited to hear the sound of her footsteps,
 Knew not which beat the louder, his heart or the knocker of iron ; 110
 Or at the joyous feast of the Patron Saint of the village,
 Bolder grew, and pressed her hand in the dance as he whispered
 Hurried words of love, that seemed a part of the music.
 But, among all who came, young Gabriel only was welcome ;
 Gabriel Lajeunesse, the son of Basil the blacksmith, 115
 Who was a mighty man in the village, and honoured of all men,
 For since the birth of time, throughout all ages and nations,

Has the craft of the smith been held in repute by the people.
 Basil was Benedict's friend. Their children from earliest childhood
 Grew up together as brother and sister ; and Father Felician, 120
 Priest and pedagogue both in the village, had taught them their letters
 Out of the selfsame book, with the hymns of the church and the plain-
 song.

But when the hymn was sung, and the daily lesson completed,
 Swiftly they hurried away to the forge of Basil the blacksmith.
 There at the door they stood, with wondering eyes to behold him 125
 Take in his leathern lap the hoof of the horse as a plaything,
 Nailing the shoe in its place ; while near him the tire of the cart-wheel
 Lay like a fiery snake, coiled round in a circle of cinders.
 Oft on autumnal eves, when without in the gathering darkness
 Bursting with light seemed the smithy, through every cranny and
 crevice, 130

Warm by the forge within they watched the labouring bellows,
 And as its panting ceased, and the sparks expired in the ashes,
 Merrily laughed, and said they were nuns going into the chapel.
 Oft on sledges in winter, as swift as the swoop of the eagle,
 Down the hill-side bounding, they glided away o'er the meadow. 135
 Oft in the barns they climbed to the populous nest on the rafters,
 Seeking with eager eyes that wondrous stone, which the swallow
 Brings from the shore of the sea to restore the sight of its fledglings ;
 Lucky was he who found that stone in the nest of the swallow !
 Thus passed a few swift years, and they no longer were children. 140
 He was a valiant youth, and his face, like the face of the morning,
 Gladdened the earth with its light, and ripened thought into action.
 She was a woman now, with the heart and hopes of a woman.
 " Sunshine of St. Eulalie " was she called ; for that was the sunshine
 Which, as the farmers believed, would load their orchards with
 apples ; 145

She, too, would bring to her husband's house delight and abundance,
 Filling it full of love and the ruddy faces of children.

II.

Now had the season returned, when the nights grow colder and
 longer,
 And the retreating sun the sign of the Scorpion enters.
 Birds of passage sailed through the leaden air, from the ice-bound, 150
 Desolate northern bays to the shores of tropical islands.

Harvests were gathered in ; and wild with the winds of September
 Wrestled the trees of the forest, as Jacob of old with the angel.
 All the signs foretold a winter long and inclement.

Bees, with prophetic instinct of want, had hoarded their honey 155
 Till the hives overflowed ; and the Indian hunters asserted
 Cold would the winter be, for thick was the fur of the foxes.
 Such was the advent of autumn. Then followed that beautiful season,
 Called by the pious Acadian peasants the Summer of All-Saints !
 Filled was the air with a dreamy and magical light ; and the land-
 scape 160

Lay as if new-created in all the freshness of childhood.

Peace seemed to reign upon earth, and the restless heart of the ocean
 Was for a moment consoled. All sounds were in harmony blended.
 Voices of children at play, the crowing of cocks in the farmyards,
 Whir of wings in the drowsy air, and the cooing of pigeons, 165
 All were subdued and low as the murmurs of love, and the great sun
 Looked with the eye of love through the golden vapours around him ;
 While arrayed in its robes of russet and scarlet and yellow,
 Bright with the sheen of the dew, each glittering tree of the forest
 Flashed like the plane-tree the Persian adorned with mantles and
 jewels. 170

Now recommenced the reign of rest and affection and stillness.
 Day with its burden and heat had departed, and twilight descending
 Brought back the evening star to the sky, and the herds to the home-
 stead.

Pawing the ground they came, and resting their necks on each other,
 And with their nostrils distended inhaling the freshness of evening. 175
 Foremost, bearing the bell, Evangeline's beautiful heifer,
 Proud of her snow-white hide, and the ribbon that waved from her
 collar,

Quietly paced and slow, as if conscious of human affection.
 Then came the shepherd back with his bleating flocks from the sea-side,
 Where was their favourite pasture. Behind them followed the watch-
 dog, 180

Patient, full of importance, and grand in the pride of his instinct,
 Walking from side to side with a lordly air, and superbly
 Waving its bushy tail, and urging forward the stragglers ;
 Regent of flocks was he when the shepherd slept ; their protector,
 When from the forest at night, through the starry silence, the wolves
 howled. 185

Late, with the rising moon, returned the wains from the marshes,
 Laden with briny hay, that filled the air with its odour.
 Cheerily neighed the steeds, with dew on their manes and their fetlocks,
 While aloft on their shoulders the wooden and ponderous saddles,
 Painted with brilliant dyes, and adorned with tessels of crimson, 190
 Nodded in bright array, like hollyhocks heavy with blossoms.
 Patiently stood the cows meanwhile, and yielded their udders
 Unto the milkmaid's hand ; whilst loud and in regular cadence
 Into the sounding pails the foaming streamlets descended.
 Lowing of cattle and peals of laughter were heard in the farmyard, 195
 Echoed back by the barns. Anon they sank into stillness ;
 Heavily closed, with a jarring sound, the valves of the barn-doors,
 Rattled the wooden bars, and all for a season was silent.

In-doors, warm by the wide-mouthing fire-place, idly the farmer
 Sat in his elbow-chair, and watched how the flames and the smoke-
 wreaths 200

Struggled together like foes in a burning city. Behind him,
 Nodding and mocking along the wall, with gestures fantastic,
 Darted his own huge shadow, and vanished away into darkness.
 Faces, clumsily carved in oak, on the back of his arm-chair
 Laughed in the flickering light, and the pewter plates on the dresser 205
 Caught and reflected the flame, as shields of armies the sunshine,
 Fragments of song the old man sang, and carols of Christmas,
 Such as at home, in the olden time, his fathers before him
 Sang in their Norman orchards and bright Burgundian vineyards.
 Close at her father's side was the gentle Evangeline seated, 210
 Spinning flax for the loom, that stood in the corner behind her.
 Silent a while were its treadles, at rest was its diligent shuttle,
 While the monotonous drone of the wheel, like the drone of a bagpipe,
 Followed the old man's song, and united the fragments together.
 As in a church, when the chant of the choir at intervals ceases, 215
 Footfalls are heard in the aisles, or words of the priest at the altar,
 So, in each pause of the song, with measured motion the clock clicked.

Thus as they sat, there were footsteps heard, and, suddenly lifted,
 Sounded the wooden latch, and the door swung back on its hinges.
 Benedict knew by the hob-nailed shoes it was Basil the blacksmith, 220
 And by her beating heart Evangeline knew who was with him.
 "Welcome!" the farmer exclaimed, as the footsteps paused on the
 threshold,

“ Welcome, Basil, my friend ! Come, take thy place on the settle
 Close by the chimney-side, which is always empty without thee ;
 Take from the shelf overhead thy pipe and the box of tobacco ; 225
 Never so much thyself art thou as when through the curling
 Smoke of the pipe or the forge thy friendly and jovial face gleams
 Round and red as the harvest moon through the mist of the marshes.”
 Then, with a smile of content, thus answered Basil the blacksmith,
 Taking with easy air the accustomed seat by the fireside :— 230
 “ Benedict Bellefontaine, thou hast ever thy jest and thy ballad !
 Ever in cheerfulest mood art thou, when others are filled with
 Gloomy forebodings of ill, and see only ruin before them.
 Happy art thou, as if every day thou hadst picked up a horseshoe.”
 Pausing a moment, to take the pipe that Evangeline brought him, 235
 And with a coal from the embers had lighted, he slowly continued :—
 “ Four days now are passed since the English ships at their anchors,
 Ride in the Gaspereau’s mouth, with their cannon pointed against us.
 What their design may be is unknown ; but all are commanded
 On the morrow to meet in the church, where his Majesty’s mandate 240
 Will be proclaimed as law in the land. Alas ! in the mean time
 Many surmises of evil alarm the hearts of the people.”
 Then made answer the farmer :—“ Perhaps some friendlier purpose
 Bring these ships to our shores. Perhaps the harvests in England
 By the untimely rains or untimelier heat have been blighted, 245
 And from our bursting barns they would feed their cattle and children.”
 “ Not so thinketh the folk in the village,” said, warmly, the blacksmith,
 Shaking his head, as in doubt ; then, heaving a sigh, he continued :—
 “ Louisburg is not forgotten, nor Beau Séjour, nor Port Royal.
 Many already have fled to the forest, and lurk on its outskirts, 250
 Waiting with anxious hearts the dubious fate of to-morrow.
 Arms have been taken from us, and warlike weapons of all kinds ;
 Nothing is left but the blacksmith’s sledge and the scythe of the
 mower.”
 Then with a pleasant smile made answer the jovial farmer :—
 “ Safer are we unarmed, in the midst of our flocks and our corn-
 fields, 255
 Safer within these peaceful dikes, besieged by the ocean,
 Than were our fathers in forts, besieged by the enemy’s cannon.
 Fear no evil, my friend, and to-night may no shadow of sorrow
 Fall on this house and hearth ; for this is the night of the contract.
 Built are the house and the barn. The merry lads of the village 260

Strongly have built them and well ; and, breaking the glebe round
about them,

Filled the barn with hay, and the house with food for a twelvemonth.

René Leblanc will be here anon, with his papers and inkhorn.

Shall we not then be glad, and rejoice in the joy of our children ?”

As apart by the window she stood, with her hand in her lover’s, 265

Blushing Evangeline heard the words that her father had spoken,

And as they died on his lips the worthy notary entered.

III.

BENT like a labouring oar, that toils in the surf of the ocean,
Bent, but not broken, by age was the form of the notary public ;
Shocks of yellow hairs, like the silken floss of the maize hung 270
Over his shoulders ; his forehead was high ; and glasses with horn bows
Sat astride on his nose, with a look of wisdom supernal.

Father of twenty children was he, and more than a hundred

Children’s children rode on his knee, and heard his great watch tick.

Four long years in the time of the war had he languished a captive, 275

Suffering much in an old French fort as the friend of the English.

Now, though warier grown, without all guile or suspicion,

Ripe in wisdom was he, but patient, and simple, and childlike.

He was beloved by all, and most of all by the children ;

For he told them tales of the Loup-garou in the forest, 280

And of the goblin that came in the night to water the horses,

And of the white Létiche, the ghost of a child who unchristened

Died, and was doomed to haunt unseen the chambers of children ;

And how on Christmas eve the oxen talked in the stable,

And how the fever was cured by a spider shut up in a nutshell, 285

And of the marvellous power of four-leaved clover and horseshoes,

With whatsoever else was writ in the lore of the village.

Then up rose from his seat by the fireside Basil the blacksmith,

Knocked from his pipe the ashes, and slowly extending his right hand,

“ Father Leblanc,” he exclaimed, “ thou hast heard the talk in the
village, 290

And, perchance, canst tell us some news of these ships and their
errand.”

Then with modest demeanour made answer the notary public,—

“ Gossip enough have I heard, in sooth, yet am never the wiser ;

And what their errand may be I know not better than others.

Yet am I not of those who imagine some evil intention 295

Brings them here, for we are at peace ; and why then molest us ? ”

“ God’s name ! ” shouted the hasty and somewhat irascible blacksmith ;
“ Must we in all things look for the how and the why, and the
wherefore ? ”

Daily injustice is done, and might is the right of the strongest ! ”

But, without heeding his warmth, continued the notary public,— 300

“ Man is unjust, but God is just ; and finally justice

Triumphs ; and well I remember a story, that often consoled me,

When as a captive I lay in the old French fort at Port Royal ”

This was the old man’s favourite tale, and he loved to repeat it

When his neighbours complained that any injustice was done them. 305

“ Once in an ancient city, whose name I no longer remember,

Raised aloft on a column, a brazen statue of Justice

Stood in the public square, upholding the scales in its left hand,

And in its right a sword, as an emblem that justice presided

Over the laws of the land, and the hearts and homes of the people. 310

Even the birds had built their nests in the scales of the balance,

Having no fear of the sword that flashed in the sunshine above them

But in the course of time the laws of the land were corrupted ;

Might took the place of right, and the weak were oppressed and the
mighty

Ruled with an iron rod. Then it chanced in a nobleman’s palace 315

That a necklace of pearls was lost, and ere long, a suspicion

Fell on an orphan girl who lived as maid in the household.

She, after form of trial condemned to die on the scaffold,

Patiently met her doom at the foot of the statue of Justice.

As to her Father in heaven her innocent spirit ascended,

320

Lo ! o’er the city a tempest rose ; and the bolts of the thunder

Smote the statue of bronze, and hurled in wrath from its left hand

Down on the pavement below the clattering scales of the balance,

And in the hollow thereof was found the nest of a magpie,

Into whose clay-built walls the necklace of pearls was inwoven.” 325

Silenced, but not convinced, when the story was ended, the blacksmith

Stood like a man who fain would speak, but findeth no language ;

All his thoughts were congealed into lines on his face, as the vapours

Freeze in fantastic shapes on the window-panes in the winter.

Then Evangeline lighted the brazen lamp on the table,

330

Filled, till it overflowed, the pewter tankard with home-brewed

Nut-brown ale, that was famed for its strength in the village of

Grand-Pré ;

While from his pocket the notary drew his papers and inkhorn,
 Wrote with a steady hand the date and the age of the parties,
 Naming the dower of the bride in flocks of sheep and in cattle. 335
 Orderly all things proceeded, and duly and well were completed,
 And the great seal of the law was set like a sun on the margin.
 Then from his leatheren pouch the farmer threw on the table
 Three times the old man's fee in solid pieces of silver ;
 And the notary rising, and blessing the bride and the bridegroom, 340
 Lifted aloft the tankard of ale and drank to their welfare.
 Wiping the foam from his lip, he solemnly bowed and departed,
 While in silence the others sat and mused by the fireside,
 Till Evangeline brought the draught-board out of its corner.
 Soon was the game begun. In friendly contention the old men 345
 Laughed at each lucky hit, or unsuccessful manœuvre,
 Laughed when a man was crowned, or a breach was made in the
 king-row,
 Meanwhile apart in the twilight gloom of a window's embrasure,
 Sat the lovers, and whispered together, beholding the moon rise
 Over the pallid sea and the silvery mist of the meadows. 350
 Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven,
 Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.

Thus passed the evening away. Anon the bell from the belfry
 Rang out the hour of nine, the village curfew, and straightway
 Rose the guests and departed; and silence reigned in the household. 355
 Many a farewell word and sweet good-night on the door-step
 Lingered long in Evangeline's heart, and filled it with gladness.
 Carefully then were covered the embers that glowed on the hearthstone,
 And on the oaken stairs resounded the tread of the farmer.
 Soon with a soundless step the foot of Evangeline followed. 360
 Up the staircase moved a luminous space in the darkness,
 Lighted less by the lamp than the shining face of the maiden.
 Silent she passed through the hall, and entered the door of her chamber.
 Simple that chamber was, with its curtains of white, and its clothes-
 press
 Ample and high, on whose spacious shelves were carefully folded 365
 Linen and woollen stuffs, by the hand of Evangeline woven.
 This was the precious dower she would bring to her husband in
 marriage,
 Better than flocks and herds, being proofs of her skill as a housewife.
 Soon she extinguished her lamp, for the mellow and radiant moonlight

Streamed through the windows, and lighted the room, till the heart of
the maiden

370

Swelled and obeyed its power, like the tremulous tides of the ocean.

Ah! she was fair, exceeding fair to behold, as she stood with

Naked snow-white feet on the gleaming floor of her chamber!

Little she dreamed that below, among the trees of the orchard,

Waited her lover and watched for the gleam of her lamp and her
shadow.

375

Yet were her thoughts of him, and at times a feeling of sadness

Passed o'er her soul, as the sailing shade of clouds in the moonlight

Flitted across the floor and darkened the room for a moment.

And as she gazed from the window she saw serenely the moon pass

Forth from the folds of a cloud, and one star follow her footsteps,

380

As out of Abraham's tent young Ishmael wandered with Hagar !

IV.

PLEASANTLY rose next morn the sun on the village of Grand-Pré.

Pleasantly gleamed in the soft, sweet air the Basin of Minas,

Where the ships, with their wavering shadows, were riding at anchor.

Life had long been astir in the village, and clamorous labour

385

Knocked with its hundred hands at the golden gates of the morning.

Now from the country around, from the farms and the neighbouring
hamlets,

Came in their holiday dresses the blithe Acadian peasants

Many a glad good-morrow and jocund laugh from the young folk

Made the bright air brighter, as up from the numerous meadows,

390

Where no path could be seen but the track of wheels in the greensward,

Group after group appeared, and joined, or passed on the highway.

Long ere noon, in the village, all sounds of labour were silenced.

Thronged were the streets with people ; and noisy groups at the house-
doors

Sat in the cheerful sun, and rejoiced and gossiped together.

395

Every house was an inn, where all were welcomed and feasted ;

For with this simple people, who lived like brothers together,

All things were held in common, and what one had was another's.

Yet under Benedict's roof hospitality seemed more abundant :

For Evangeline stood among the guests of her father ;

400

Bright was her face with smiles, and words of welcome and gladness

Fell from her beautiful lips, and blessed the cup as she gave it.

Under the open sky, in the odorous air of the orchard,
Bending with golden fruit, was spread the feast of betrothal.
There in the shade of the porch were the priest and the notary
seated ; 405

There good Benedict sat, and sturdy Basil the blacksmith.
Not far withdrawn from these, by the cider-press and the beehives,
Michael the fiddler was placed, with the gayest of hearts and of waist-coats.

Shadow and light from the leaves alternately played on his snow-white
Hair, as it waved in the wind, and the jolly face of the fiddler 410
Glowed like a living coal when the ashes are blown from the embers.

Gaily the old man sang to the vibrant sound of his fiddle,
Tous les Bourgeois de Chartres, and *Le Carillon de Dunkerque*,
And anon with his wooden shoes beat time to the music.
Merrily, merrily whirled the wheels of the dizzying dances 415
Under the orchard-trees and down the path to the meadows :
Old folk and young together, and children mingled among them.
Fairest of all the maids was Evangeline, Benedict's daughter !
Noblest of all the youths was Gabriel, son of the blacksmith !

So passed the morning away. And lo ! with a summons sonorous 420
Sounded the bell from its tower, and over the meadows a drum beat.
Thronged ere long was the church with men. Without, in the church-yard,

Waited the women. They stood by the graves, and hung on the headstones

Garlands of autumn-leaves and evergreens fresh from the forest.
Then came the guard from the ships, and marching proudly among them 425

Entered the sacred portal. With loud and dissonant clangour
Echoed the sound of their brazen drums from ceiling and casement,—
Echoed a moment only, and slowly the ponderous portal
Closed, and in silence the crowd awaited the will of the soldiers.
Then uprose their commander, and spake from the steps of the altar, 430
Holding aloft in his hands, with its seals, the royal commission.
“ You are convened this day,” he said, “ by his Majesty’s orders.
Clement and kind has he been ; but how you have answered his kindness,

Let your own hearts reply ! To my natural make and my temper
Painful the task is I do, which to you I know must be grevious. 435
Yet must I bow and obey, and deliver the will of our monarch ;

Namely, that all your lands, and dwellings, and cattle of all kinds,
 Forfeited be to the crown ; and that you yourselves from this province
 Be transported to other lands. God grant you may dwell there
 Ever as faithful subjects, a happy and peaceable people ! 440
 Prisoners now I declare you ; for such is his Majesty's pleasure ! ”
 As, when the air is serene in the sultry solstice of summer,
 Suddenly gathers a storm, and the deadly sling of the hailstones
 Beats down the farmer's corn in the field and shatters his windows,
 Hiding the sun, and strewing the ground with thatch from the house-
 roofs, 445

Bellowing fly the herds, and seek to break their inclosures ;
 So on the hearts of the people descended the words of the speaker.
 Silent a moment they stood in speechless wonder, and then rose
 Louder and ever louder a wail of sorrow and anger,
 And by one impulse moved, they madly rushed to the doorway. 450
 Vain was the hope of escape ; and cries and fierce imprecations
 Rang through the house of prayer ; and high o'er the heads of the
 others

Rose, with his arms uplifted, the figure of Basil the blacksmith,
 As, on a stormy sea, a spar is tossed by the billows.
 Flushed was his face and distorted with passion ; and wildly he
 shouted, 455

“ Down with the tyrants of England ! we never have sworn them
 allegiance.

Death to these foreign soldiers, who seize on our homes and our
 harvests ! ”

More he fain would have said, but the merciless hand of a soldier
 Smote him upon the mouth, and dragged him down to the pavement.

In the midst of the strife and tumult of angry contention. 460
 Lo ! the door of the chancel opened, and Father Felician
 Entered, with serious mien, and ascended the steps of the altar.
 Raising his reverend hand, with a gesture he awed into silence
 All that clamorous throng ; and thus he spake to his people.
 Deep were his tones and solemn; in accents measured and mournful 465
 Spake he, as, after the tocsin's alarum, distinctly the clock strikes.
 “ What is this that ye do, my children ? what madness has seized you ?
 Forty years of my life have I laboured among you, and taught you,
 Not in word alone; but in deed, to love one another !
 Is this the fruit of my toils, of my vigils and prayers and priva-
 tions ? 470

Have you so soon forgotten all lessons of love and forgiveness ?
 This is the house of the Prince of Peace, and would you profane it
 Thus with violent deeds and hearts overflowing with hatred ?

Lo ! where the crucified Christ from his cross is gazing upon you !

See ! in those sorrowful eyes what meekness and holy compassion ! 475

Hark ! how those lips still repeat the prayer, 'O Father, forgive them !'

Let us repeat that prayer in the hour when the wicked assail us,

Let us repeat it now, and say, O Father, forgive them !'

Few were his words of rebuke, but deep in the hearts of his people

Sank they, and sobs of contrition succeeded that passionate out-break ; 480

And they repeated his prayer, and said, "O Father, forgive them !"

Then came the evening service. The tapers gleamed from the altar.
 Fervent and deep was the voice of the priest, and the people responded,
 Not with their lips alone, but their hearts ; and the Ave Maria
 Sang they, and fell on their knees, and their souls, with devotion
 translated, 485

Rose on the ardour of prayer, like Elijah ascending to heaven.

Meanwhile had spread in the village the tidings of ill, and on all
 sides

Wandered, wailing, from house to house, the women and children.

Long at her father's door Evangeline stood, with her right hand
 Shielding her eyes from the level rays of the sun, that, descending, 490
 Lighted the village street with mysterious splendour, and roofed each
 Peasant's cottage with golden thatch, and emblazoned its windows.
 Long within had been spread the snow-white cloth on the table ;
 There stood the wheaten loaf, and the honey fragrant with wild flowers;
 There stood the tankard of ale, and the cheese fresh brought from the
 dairy ; 495

And at the head of the board the great arm-chair of the farmer.

Thus did Evangeline wait at her father's door, as the sunset

Threw the long shadows of trees o'er the broad ambrosial meadows.

Ah ! on her spirit within a deeper shadow had fallen,

And from the fields of her soul a fragrance celestial ascended,— 500

Charity, meekness, love, and hope, and forgiveness, and patience !

Then, all-forgetful of self, she wandered into the village,

Cheering with looks and words the disconsolate hearts of the women,

As o'er the darkening fields with lingering steps they departed,

Urged by their household cares, and the weary feet of their children. 505

Down sank the great red sun, and in golden, glimmering vapours
 Veiled the light of his face, like the Prophet descending from Sinai.
 Sweetly over the village the bell of the Angelus sounded.

Meanwhile, amid the gloom, by the church Evangeline lingered.
 All was silent within ; and in vain at the door and the windows 510
 Stood she, and listened and looked, until, overcome by emotion,
 " Gabriel ! " cried she aloud with tremulous voice ; but no answer
 Came from the graves of the dead, nor the gloomier grave of the living.
 Slowly at length she returned to the tenantless house of her father.
 Smouldered the fire on the hearth, on the board stood the supper
 untasted, 515

Empty and drear was each room, and haunted with phantoms of terror.
 Sadly echoed her step on the stair and the floor of her chamber.
 In the dead of the night she heard the whispering rain fall
 Loud on the withered leaves of the sycamore-tree by the window.
 Keenly the lightning flashed ; and the voice of the echoing thunder 520
 Told her that God was in heaven, and governed the world he created !
 Then she remembered the tale she had heard of the justice of Heaven ;
 Soothed was her troubled soul, and she peacefully slumbered till
 morning.

V.

FOUR times the sun had risen and set ; and now on the fifth day
 Cheerily called the cock to the sleeping maids of the farm-house. 525
 Soon o'er the yellow fields, in silent and mournful procession,
 Came from the neighbouring hamlets and farms the Acadian women,
 Driving in ponderous wains their household goods to the sea-shore,
 Pausing and looking back to gaze once more on their dwellings,
 Ere they were shut from sight by the winding road and the wood-
 land. 530

Close at their sides their children ran, and urged on the oxen,
 While in their little hands they clasped some fragments of playthings.

Thus to the Gaspereau's mouth they hurried ; and there on the sea-
 beach

Piled in confusion lay the household goods of the peasants.
 All day long between the shore and the ships did the boats ply ; 535
 All day long the wains came labouring down from the village.
 Late in the afternoon, when the sun was near to his setting,
 Echoing far o'er the fields came the roll of drums from the churchyard

Thither the women and children thronged. On a sudden the church-
doors

Opened, and forth came the guard, and marching in gloomy pro-
cession

540

Followed the long-imprisoned, but patient, Acadian farmers.

Even as pilgrims, who journey afar from their homes and their country,
Sing as they go, and in singing forget they are weary and wayworn,
So with songs on their lips the Acadian peasants descended

Down from the church to the shore, amid their wives and their
daughters,

545

Foremost the young men came ; and raising together their voices,
Sang they with tremulous lips a chant of the Catholic Missions :—

“ Sacred heart of the Saviour ! O inexhaustible fountain !

Fill our hearts this day with strength and submission and patience ! ”

Then the old men, as they marched, and the women that stood by the
way-side,

550

Joined in the sacred psalm, and the birds in the sunshine above them
Mingled their notes therewith. Like voices of spirits departed.

Half-way down to the shore Evangeline waited in silence,
Not overcome with grief, but strong in the hour of affliction,—
Calmly and sadly waited, until the procession approached her,

555

And she beheld the face of Gabriel pale with emotion.

Tears then filled her eyes, and, eagerly running to meet him,
Clasped she his hands, and laid her head on his shoulders, and
whispered,—

“ Gabriel ! be of good cheer ! for if we love one another,
Nothing, in truth, can harm us, whatever mischances may happen ! ”

560

Smiling she spake these words ; then suddenly paused, for her father
Saw she slowly advancing. Alas ! how changed was his aspect !

Gone was the glow from his cheek, and the fire from his eye, and his
footstep

Heavier seemed with the weight of the weary heart in his bosom.

But with a smile and a sigh, she clasped his neck and embraced him,

565

Speaking words of endearment where words of comfort availed not.

Thus to the Gaspereau’s mouth moved on that mournful procession.

There disorder prevailed, and the tumult and stir of embarking.

Busily plied the freighted boats ; and in the confusion

Wives were torn from their husbands, and mothers, too late, saw their
children

570

Left on the land, extending their arms, with wildest entreaties.
 So unto separate ships were Basil and Gabriel carried,
 While in despair on the shore Evangeline stood with her father.
 Half the task was not done when the sun went down, and the twilight
 Deepened and darkened around ; and in haste the refluent ocean 575
 Fled away from the shore, and left the line of the sand beach
 Covered with waifs of the tide, with kelp and the slippery sea-weed.
 Farther back in the midst of the household goods and the waggons,
 Like to a gipsy camp, or a leaguer after a battle,
 All escape cut off by the sea, and the sentinels near them, 580
 Lay encamped for the night the houseless Acadian farmers.
 Back to its nethermost caves retreated the bellowing ocean,
 Dragging adown the beach the rattling pebbles, and leaving
 Inland and far up the shore the stranded boats of the sailors.
 Then, as the night descended, the herds returned from their pas-
 tures ; 585
 Sweet was the moist still air with the odour of milk from their udders ;
 Lowing they waited, and long, at the well-known bars of the farm-
 yard, —
 Waited and looked in vain for the voice and the hand of the milkmaid.
 Silence reigned in the streets ; from the church no Angelus sounded,
 Rose no smoke from the roofs, and gleamed no lights from the
 windows. 590

But on the shores meanwhile the evening fires had been kindled,
 Built of the drift-wood thrown on the sands from wrecks in the tempest.
 Round them shapes of gloom and sorrowful faces were gathered,
 Voices of women were heard, and of men, and the crying of children.
 Onward from fire to fire, as from hearth to hearth in his parish, 595
 Wandered the faithful priest, consoling and blessing and cheering,
 Like unto shipwrecked Paul on Melita's desolate sea-shore.
 Thus he approached the place where Evangeline sat with her father,
 And in the flickering light beheld the face of the old man,
 Haggard and hollow and wan, and without either thought or emotion, 600
 E'en as the face of a clock from which the hands have been taken.
 Vainly Evangeline strove with words and caresses to cheer him,
 Vainly offered him food ; yet he moved not, he looked not, he spake
 not,

But, with a vacant stare, ever gazed at the flickering fire-light.
 " *Benedicite !*" murmured the priest, in tones of compassion. 605
 More he fain would have said, but his heart was full, and his accents

Faltered and paused on his lips, as the feet of a child on a threshold,
 Hushed by the scene he beholds, and the awful presence of sorrow.
 Silently, therefore, he laid his hand on the head of the maiden,
 Raising his eyes, full of tears, to the silent stars that above them 610
 Moved on their way, unperturbed by the wrongs and sorrows of mortals.
 Then sat he down at her side, and they wept together in silence.

Suddenly rose from the south a light, as in autumn the blood-red
 Moon climbs the crystal walls of heaven, and o'er the horizon
 Titan-like stretches its hundred hands upon mountain and meadow, 615
 Seizing the rocks and the rivers, and piling huge shadows together.
 Broader and ever broader it gleamed on the roofs of the village,
 Gleamed on the sky and the sea, and the ships that lay in the road-
 stead.

Columns of shining smoke uprose, and flashes of flame were
 Thrust through their folds and withdrawn, like the quivering hands of
 a martyr. 620

Then as the wind seized the gleeds and the burning thatch, and,
 uplifting,

Whirled them aloft through the air, at once from a hundred house-tops
 Started the sheeted smoke with flashes of flame intermingled.

These things beheld in dismay the crowd on the shore and on ship-
 board.

Speechless at first they stood, then cried aloud in their anguish, 625
 " We shall behold no more our homes in the village of Grand-Pré ! "

Loud on a sudden the cocks began to crow in the farmyards,
 Thinking the day had dawned ; and anon the lowing of cattle
 Came on the evening breeze, by the barking of dogs interrupted.

Then rose a sound of dread, such as startles the sleeping encamp-
 ments 630

Far in the western prairies or forests that skirt the Nebraska,
 When the wild horses affrighted sweep by with the speed of the whirl-
 wind,

Or the loud-bellowing herds of buffaloes rush to the river.

Such was the sound that arose on the night, as the herds and the horses
 Broke through their folds and their fences, and madly rushed o'er the
 meadows. 635

Overwhelmed with the sight yet speechless, the priest and the maiden
 Gazed on the scene of terror that reddened and widened before them ;
 And as they turned at length to speak to their silent companion,

Lo ! from his seat he had fallen, and stretched abroad on the sea-shore
Motionless lay his form, from which the soul had departed. 640
Slowly the priest uplifted the lifeless head, and the maiden
Knelt at her father's side, and wailed aloud in her terror.
Then in a swoon she sank, and lay with her head on his bosom.
Through the long night she lay in deep, oblivious slumber ;
And when she woke from the trance, she beheld a multitude near
her. 645

Faces of friends she beheld, that were mournfully gazing upon her ;
Pallid, with tearful eyes, and looks of saddest compassion.
Still the blaze of the burning village illumined the landscape,
Reddened the sky overhead, and gleamed on the faces around her,
And like the day of doom it seemed to her wavering senses. 650
Then a familiar voice she heard, as it said to the people,—
“ Let us bury him here by the sea. When a happier season
Brings us again to our homes from the unknown land of our exile,
Then shall his sacred dust be piously laid in the churchyard.”
Such were the words of the priest. And there in haste by the sea-
side, 655

Having the glare of the burning village for funeral torches,
But without bell or book, they buried the farmer of Grand-Pré.
And as the voice of the priest repeated the service of sorrow,
Lo ! with a mournful sound, like the voice of a vast congregation,
Solemnly answered the sea, and mingled its roar with the dirges. 670
’Twas the returning tide, that afar from the waste of the ocean,
With the first dawn of the day, came heaving and hurrying landward.
Then recommenced once more the stir and noise of embarking ;
And with the ebb of that tide the ships sailed out of the harbour,
Leaving behind them the dead on the shore, and the village in ruins. 675

PART THE SECOND.

1.

MANY a weary year had passed since the burning of Grand-Pré,
When on the falling tide the freighted vessels departed,
Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile,
Exile without an end, and without an example in story.
Far asunder, on separate coasts, the Acadians landed ; 5
Scattered were they, like flakes of snow, when the wind from the
north-east
Strikes aslant through the fogs that darken the banks of Newfoundland.
Friendless, homeless, hopeless, they wandered from city to city,
From the cold lakes of the North to sultry Southern savannas,—
From the bleak shores of the sea to the lands where the Father of
Waters 10

Seizes the hills in his hands, and drags them down to the ocean,
Deep in their sands to bury the scattered bones of the mammoth.
Friends they sought and homes ; and many, despairing, heart-broken,
Asked of the earth but a grave, and no longer a friend nor a fireside.
Written their history stands on tablets of stone in the churchyards. 15
Long among them was seen a maiden who waited and wandered,
Lowly and meek in spirit, and patiently suffering all things.
Fair was she and young ; but, alas ! before her extended,
Dreary and vast and silent, the desert of life, with its pathway
Marked by the graves of those who had sorrowed and suffered before
her, 20

Passions long extinguished, and hopes long dead and abandoned,
As the emigrant's way o'er the Western desert is marked by
Camp-fires long consumed, and bones that bleach in the sunshine.
Something there was in her life incomplete, imperfect, unfinished ;
As if a morning of June, with all its music and sunshine, 25
Suddenly paused in the sky, and, fading, slowly descended
Into the East again, from whence it late had arisen.
Sometimes she lingered in towns, till, urged by the fever within her
Urged by a restless longing, the hunger and thirst of the spirit,
She would commence again her endless search and endeavour ; 30
Sometimes in churchyards strayed, and gazed on the crosses and tomb-
stones,
Sat by some nameless grave, and thought that perhaps in its bosom
He was already at rest, and she longed to slumber beside him.

Sometimes a rumour, a hearsay, an inarticulate whisper,
Came with its airy hand to point and beckon her forward. 35
Sometimes she spake with those who had seen her beloved and known
him,

But it was long ago, in some far-off place or forgotten.

“Gabriel Lajeunesse !” said others ; “O, yes ! we have seen him.
He was with Basil the blacksmith, and both have gone to the prairies ;
Coureurs-des-Bois are they, and famous hunters and trappers.” 40

“Gabriel Lajeunesse !” said others ; “O, yes ! we have seen him.

He is a *Voyageur* in the lowlands of Louisiana.”

Then would they say,—“Dear child ! why dream and wait for him
longer ?

Are there not other youths as fair as Gabriel ? others

Who have hearts as tender and true, and spirits as loyal ? 45

Here is Baptiste Leblanc, the notary’s son, who has loved thee

Many a tedious year ; come, give him thy hand and be happy !

Thou art too fair to be left to braid St. Catharine’s tresses.”

Then would Evangeline answer, serenely but sadly,—“I cannot !

Whither my heart has gone, there follows my ‘hand, and not else-
where. 50

For when the heart goes before, like a lamp, and illumines the pathway,
Many things are made clear, that else lie hidden in darkness.”

And thereupon the priest, her friend and father-confessor,
Said, with a smile,—“O daughter ! thy God thus speaketh within thee !
Talk not of wasted affection, affection never was wasted ; 55

If it enrich not the heart of another, its waters, returning

Back to their springs, like the rain, shall fill them full of refreshment ;

That which the fountain sends forth returns again to the fountain.

Patience ; accomplish thy labour ; accomplish thy work of affection !

Sorrow and silence are strong, and patient endurance is godlike. 60

Therefore accomplish thy labour of love, till the heart is made godlike,

Purified, strengthened, perfected, and rendered more worthy of heaven !”

Cheered by the good man’s words, Evangeline laboured and waited.

Still in her heart she heard the funeral dirge of the ocean,

But with its sound there was mingled a voice that whispered, “Despair
not !” 65

Thus did that poor soul wander in want and cheerless discomfort,
Bleeding, barefooted, over the shards and thorns of existence.

Let me essay, O Muse ! to follow the wanderer’s footsteps ;—

Not through each devious path, each changeful year of existence ;

But as a traveller follows a streamlet's course through the valley : 70
 Far from its margin at times, and seeing the gleam of its water
 Here and there, in some open space, and at intervals only ;
 Then drawing nearer its banks, through sylvan glooms that conceal it,
 Though he behold it not, he can hear its continuous murmur ;
 Happy, at length, if he find the spot where it reaches an outlet. 75

II.

IT was the month of May. Far down the Beautiful River,
 Past the Ohio shore and past the mouth of the Wabash,
 Into the golden stream of the broad and swift Mississippi,
 Fleated a cumbrous boat, that was rowed by Acadian boatmen,
 It was a band of exiles : a raft as it were, from the shipwrecked 80
 Nation, scattered along the coast, now floating together,
 Bound by the bonds of a common belief and a common misfortune ;
 Men and women and children, who, guided by hope or by hearsay,
 Sought for their kith and their kin among the few-acred farmers
 On the Acadian coast, and the prairies of fair Opelousas. 85
 With them Evangeline went, and her guide, the Father Felician.
 Onward o'er sunken sands, through a wilderness sombre with forests,
 Day after day they glided adown the turbulent river ;
 Night after night, by their blazing fires, encamped on its borders.
 Now through rushing chutes, among green islands, where plume-like 90
 Cotton-trees nodded their shadowy crests, they swept with the current,
 Then emerged into broad lagoons, where silvery sand-bars
 Lay in the stream, and along the wimpling waves of their margin,
 Shining with snow-white plumes, large flocks of pelicans waded.
 Level the landscape grew, and along the shores of the river, 95
 Shaded by china-trees, in the midst of luxuriant gardens,
 Stood the houses of planters, with negro-cabins and dovecots.
 They were approaching the region where reigns perpetual summer,
 Where through the Golden Coast, and groves of orange and citron,
 Sweeps with majestic curve the river away to the eastward. 100
 They, too, swerved from their course ; and, entering the Bayou of
 Plaquemine,
 Soon were lost in a maze of sluggish and devious waters,
 Which, like a network of steel, extended in every direction.
 Over their heads the towering and tenebrous boughs of the cypress
 Met in a dusky arch, and trailing mosses in mid air 105
 Waved like banners that hang on the walls of ancient cathedrals.

Death-like the silence seemed, and unbroken, save by the herons
 Home to their roosts in the cedar-trees returning at sunset,
 Or by the owl, as he greeted the moon with demoniac laughter.
 Lovely the moonlight was as it glanced and gleamed on the water 110
 Gleamed on the columns of cypress and cedar sustaining the arches,
 Down through whose broken vaults it fell as through chinks in a ruin.
 Dreamlike, and indistinct, and strange were all things around them ;
 And o'er their spirits there came a feeling of wonder and sadness,—
 Strange forebodings of ill, unseen and that cannot be compassed. 115
 As the tramp of a horse's hoof on the turf of the prairies,
 Far in advance are closed the leaves of the shrinking mimosa,
 So, at the hoof-beats of fate, with sad forebodings of evil,
 Shrinks and closes the heart, ere the stroke of doom has attained it.
 But Evangeline's heart was sustained by a vision, that faintly 120
 Fleeted before her, and beckoned her on through the moonlight.
 It was the thought of her brain that assumed the shape of a phantom.
 Through those shadowy aisles had Gabriel wandered before her,
 And every stroke of the oar now brought him nearer and nearer.

Then in his place, at the prow of the boat, rose one of the oarsmen, 125

And, as a signal sound, if others like them peradventure
 Sailed on those gloomy and midnight streams, blew a blast on his bugle.
 Wild through the dark colonnades and corridors leafy the blast rang,
 Breaking the seal of silence, and giving tongues to the forest.
 Soundless above them the banners of moss just stirred to the music, 130
 Multitudinous echoes awoke and died in the distance,
 Over the watery floor, and beneath the reverberant branches ;
 But not a voice replied ; no answer came from the darkness ;
 And when the echoes had ceased, like a sense of pain was the silence.
 Then Evangeline slept ; but the boatmen rowed through the midnight, 135

Silent at times, then singing familiar Canadian boat-songs,
 Such as they sang of old on their own Acadian rivers.
 And through the night were heard the mysterious sounds of the desert,
 Far off, indistinct, as of wave or wind in the forest,
 Mixed with the whoop of the crane and the roar of the grim alligator. 140

Thus ere another noon they emerged from those shades ; and before
 them

Lay, in the golden sun, the lakes of the Atchafalaya.

Water-lilies in myriads rocked on the slight undulations

Made by the passing oars, and, resplendent in beauty, the lotus
Lifted her golden crown above the heads of the boatmen.

145

Faint was the air with the odorous breath of magnolia blossoms,
And with the heat of noon ; and numberless sylvan islands,
Fragrant and thickly embowered with blossoming hedges of roses,
Near to whose shores they glided along, invited to slumber.

Soon by the fairest of these their weary oars were suspended.

150

Under the boughs of Wachita willows, that grew by the margin
Safely their boat was moored ; and scattered about on the greensward,
Tired with their midnight toil, the weary travellers slumbered.

Over them vast and high extended the cope of a cedar.

Swinging from its great arms, the trumpet-flower and the grape-vine

155

Hung their ladder of ropes aloft like the ladder of Jacob,
On whose pendulous stairs the angels ascending, descending,
Were the swift humming-birds, that flitted from blossom to blossom.
Such was the vision Evangeline saw as she slumbered beneath it.
Filled was her heart with love, and the dawn of an opening heaven
Lighted her soul in sleep with the glory of regions celestial.

Nearer and ever nearer, among the numberless islands,
Darted a light, swift boat, that sped away o'er the water,
Urged on its course by the sinewy arms of hunters and trappers.
Northward its prow was turned, to the land of the bison and
beaver.

165

At the helm sat a youth, with countenance thoughtful and careworn.
Dark and neglected locks overshadowed his brow, and a sadness
Somewhat beyond his years on his face was legibly written.
Gabriel was it, who, weary with waiting, unhappy and restless,
Sought in the Western wilds oblivion of self and of sorrow.
Swiftly they glided along, close under the lee of the island,
But by the opposite bank, and behind a screen of palmettos,
So that they saw not the boat, where it lay concealed in the willows,
And undisturbed by the dash of their oars, and unseen, were the
sleepers ;

170

Angel of God was there none to awaken the slumbering maiden.

175

Swiftly they glided away, like the shade of a cloud on the prairie.

After the sound of their oars on the tholes had died in the distance,
As from a magic trance the sleepers awoke, and the maiden

Said with a sigh to the friendly priest,—“ O Father Felician !
 Something says in my heart that near me Gabriel wanders. 180
 Is it a foolish dream, an idle and vague superstition ?
 Or has an angel passed, and revealed the truth to my spirit ? ”
 Then, with a blush, she added,—“ Alas for my credulous fancy !
 Unto ears like thine such words as these have no meaning.”
 But made answer the reverend man, and he smiled as he answered— 185
 “ Daughter, thy words are not idle ; nor are they to me without
 meaning.

Feeling is deep and still ; and the word that floats on the surface
 Is as the tossing buoy, that betrays where the anchor is hidden.
 Therefore trust to thy heart, and to what the world calls illusions.
 Gabriel truly is near thee ; for not far away to the southward, 190
 On the banks of the Têche, are the towns of St. Maur and St. Martin.
 There the long-wandering bride shall be given again to her bridegroom,
 There the long-absent pastor regain his flock and his sheepfold.
 Beautiful is the land, with its prairies and forests of fruit-trees ;
 Under the feet a garden of flowers, and the bluest of heavens 195
 Bending above, and resting its dome on the walls of the forest.
 They who dwell there have named it the Eden of Louisiana.”

And with these words of cheer they arose and continued their
 journey.

Softly the evening came. The sun from the western horizon
 Like a magician extended his golden wand o'er the landscape ; 200
 Twinkling vapours arose ; and sky and water and forest
 Seemed all on fire at the touch, and melted and mingled together.
 Hanging between two skies, a cloud with edges of silver,
 Fleeted the boat, with its dripping oars, on the motionless water.
 Filled was Evangeline's heart with inexpressible sweetness. 205
 Touched by the magic spell, the sacred fountains of feeling
 Glowed with the light of love, as the skies and waters around her.
 Then from a neighbouring thicket the mocking-bird, wildest of singers,
 Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water,
 Shook from his little throat such floods of delicious music, 210
 That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed silent to listen.
 Plaintive at first were the tones and sad ; then soaring to madness
 Seemed they to follow or guide the revel of frenzied Bacchantes,
 Single notes were then heard, in sorrowful, low lamentation ;
 Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in derision,
 As when, after a storm, a gust of wind through the tree-tops 215

Shakes down the rattling rain in a crystal shower on the branches.
 With such a prelude as this, and hearts that throbbed with emotion,
 Slowly they entered the Têche, where it flows through the green
 Opelousas,

And through the amber air, above the crest of the woodland, 220
 Saw the column of smoke that arose from a neighbouring dwelling ;—
 Sounds of a horn they heard, and the distant lowing of cattle.

III.

NEAR to the bank of the river, o'ershadowed by oaks, from whose
 branches

Garlands of Spanish moss and of mystic mistletoe flaunted
 Such as the Druids cut down with golden hatchets at Yule-tide, 225

Stood, secluded and still, the house of the herdsman. A garden
 Girded it round about with a belt of luxuriant blossoms,

Filling the air with fragrance. The house itself was of timbers
 Hewn from the cypress-tree, and carefully fitted together.

Large and low was the roof ; and on slender columns supported, 230
 Rose-wreathed, vine-encircled, a broad and spacious veranda,

Haunt of the humming-bird and the bee, extended around it.

At each end of the house, amid the flowers of the garden,
 Stationed the dove-cots were, as love's perpetual symbol,

Scenes of endless wooing, and endless contentions of rivals. 235

Silence reigned o'er the place. The line of shadow and sunshine

Ran near the tops of the trees ; but the house itself was in a shadow,

And from its chimney-top, ascending and slowly expanding

Into the evening air, a thin blue column of smoke rose.

In the rear of the house, from the garden gate, ran a pathway 240

Through the great groves of oak to the skirts of the limitless prairie,

Into whose sea of flowers the sun was slowly descending,

Full in his track of light, like ships with shadowy canvas

Hanging loose from their spars in a motionless calm in the tropics,

Stood a cluster of trees, with tangled cordage of grape-vines. 245

Just where the woodlands met the flowery surf of the prairie,
 Mounted upon his horse, with Spanish saddle and stirrups,
 Sat a herdsman arrayed in gaiters and doublet of deerskin.

Broad and brown was the face that from under the Spanish sombrero

Gazed on the peaceful scene, with the lordly look of its master. 250

Round about him were numberless herds of kine, that were grazing
 Quietly in the meadows, and breathing the vapoury freshness

That uprose from the river, and spread itself over the landscape
 Slowly lifting the horn that hung at his side, and expanding
 Fully his broad, deep chest, he blew a blast, that resounded 255
 Wildly and sweet and far, through the still damp air of the evening.
 Suddenly out of the grass the long white horns of the cattle
 Rose like flakes of foam on the adverse currents of ocean.
 Silent a moment they gazed, then bellowing rushed o'er the prairie,
 And the whole mass became a cloud, a shade in the distance. 260
 Then, as the herdsman turned to the house, through the gate of the
 garden
 Saw he the forms of the priest and the maiden advancing to meet him.
 Suddenly down from his horse he sprang in amazement, and forward
 Rushed with extended arms and exclamations of wonder ;
 When they beheld his face, they recognised Basil the blacksmith. 265
 Hearty his welcome was, as he led his guests to the garden.
 There in an arbour of roses, with endless question and answer
 Gave they vent to their hearts, and renewed their friendly embraces,
 Laughing and weeping by turns, or sitting silent and thoughtful.
 Thoughtful, for Gabriel came not ; and now dark doubts and mis-
 givings 270
 Stole o'er the maiden's heart ; and Basil, somewhat embarrassed,
 Broke the silence and said,—“ If you came by the Atchafalaya,
 How have you nowhere encountered my Gabriel's boat on the bayous ? ”
 Over Evangeline's face at the words of Basil a shade passed.
 Tears came into her eyes, and she said, with a tremulous accent,— 275
 “ Gone ? is Gabriel gone ? ” and, concealing her face on his shoulder,
 All her o'erburdened heart gave way, and she wept and lamented.
 Then the good Basil said,—and his voice grew blithe as he said it,—
 “ Be of Good cheer, my child ; it is only to-day he departed.
 Foolish boy ! he has left me alone with my herds and my horses. 280
 Moody and restless grown, and tried and troubled, his spirit
 Could no longer endure the calm of this quiet existence.
 Thinking ever of thee, uncertain and sorrowful ever,
 Ever silent, or speaking only of thee and his troubles,
 He at length had become so tedious to men and to maidens, 285
 Tedious even to me, that at length I bethought me, and sent him
 Unto the town of Adayes to trade for mules with the Spaniards.
 Thence he will follow the Indian trails to the Ozark Mountains,
 Hunting for furs in the forests, on rivers trapping the beaver.
 Therefore be of good cheer ; we will follow the fugitive lover ; 290

He is not far on his way, and the Fates and the streams are against him.

Up and away to-morrow, and through the red dew of the morning
We will follow him fast, and bring him back to his prison."

Then glad voices were heard, and up from the banks of the river,
Borne aloft on his comrades' arms, came Michael the fiddler. 295
Long under Basil's roof had he lived like a god on Olympus,
Having no other care than dispensing music to mortals.
Far renowned was he for his silver locks and his fiddle.

"Long live Michael," they cried, "our brave Acadian minstrel!"
As they bore him aloft in triumphal procession ; and straightway 300
Father Felican advanced with Evangeline, greeting the old man
Kindly and oft, and recalling the past, while Basil, enraptured,
Hailed with hilarious joy his old companions and gossips,
Laughing loud and long, and embracing mothers and daughters,
Much they marvelled to see the wealth of the cidevant blacksmith, 305
All his domains and his herds, and his patriarchal demeanour ;
Much they marvelled to hear his tales of the soil and the climate,
And of the prairies, whose numberless herds were his who would take
them ;

Each one thought in his heart, that he, too, would go and do likewise.
Thus they ascended the steps, and crossing the airy veranda, 310
Entered the hall of the house, where already the supper of Basil
Waited his late return ; and they rested and feasted together.

Over the joyous feast the sudden darkness descended.
All was silent without, and, illumining the landscape with silver,
Fair rose the dewy moon and the myriad stars ; but within doors, 315
Brighter than these, shone the faces of friends in the glimmering lamp-light.

Then from his station aloft, at the head of the table, the herdsman
Poured forth his heart and his wine together in endless profusion.
Lighting his pipe, that was filled with sweet Natchitoches tobacco,
Thus he spake to his guests, who listened, and smiled as they listened :— 320

"Welcome once more, my friends, who so long have been friendless and homeless,
Welcome once more to a home, that is better perchance than the old
one !
Here no hungry winter congeals our blood like the rivers ;

Here no stony ground provokes the wrath of the farmer,
 Smoothly the ploughshare runs through the soil as a keel through the
 water. 325

All the year round the orange-groves are in blossom ; and grass grows
 More in a single night than a whole Canadian summer.
 Here, too, numberless herds run wild and unclaimed in the prairies ;
 Here, too, lands may be had for the asking, and forests of timber
 With a few blows of the axe are hewn and framed into houses. 330
 After your houses are built, and your fields are yellow with harvests,
 No King George of England shall drive you away from your home-
 steads,
 Burning your dwellings and barns, and stealing your farms and your
 cattle."

Speaking these words, he blew a wrathful cloud from his nostrils,
 And his huge, brawny hand came thundering down on the table, 335
 So that the guests all started ; and Father Felician, astounded,
 Suddenly paused, with a pinch of snuff half-way to his nostrils.
 But the brave Basil resumed, and his words were milder and gayer :—
 “ Only beware of the fever, my friends, beware of the fever !

For it is not like that of our cold Acadian climate, 340
 Cured by wearing a spider hung round one’s neck in a nutshell ! ”
 Then there were voices heard at the door, and footsteps approaching
 Sounded upon the stairs and the floor of the breezy veranda.
 It was the neighbouring Creoles and small Acadian planters,
 Who had been summoned all to the house of Basil the Herdsman. 345
 Merry the meeting was of ancient comrades and neighbours :
 Friend clasped friend in his arms ; and they who before were as
 strangers,

Meeting in exile, became straightway as friends to each other,
 Drawn by the gentle bond of a common country together.
 But in the neighbouring hall a strain of music, proceeding 350
 From the accordant strings of Michael’s melodious fiddle,
 Broke up all further speech. Away, like children delighted,
 All things forgotten beside, they gave themselves to the maddening
 Whirl of the dizzy dance, as it swept and swayed to the music
 Dreamlike, with beaming eyes and the rush of fluttering garments. 355

Meanwhile, apart, at the head of the hall the priest and the herds-
 man

Sat, conversing together of past and present and future ;
 While Evangeline stood like one entranced, for within her

Olden memories rose, and loud in the midst of the music
 Heard she the sound of the sea, and an irrepressible sadness 360
 Came o'er her heart, and unseen she stole forth into the garden.
 Beautiful was the night. Behind the black wall of the forest,
 Tipping its summit with silver, arose the moon. On the river
 Fell here and there through the branches a tremulous gleam of the
 moonlight,
 Like the sweet thoughts of love on a darkened and devious spirit. 365
 Nearer and round about her, the manifold flowers of the garden
 Poured out their souls in odours, that were their prayers and con-
 fessions
 Unto the night, as it went its way, like a silent Carthusian.
 Fuller of fragrance than they, and as heavy with shadows and night-
 dews,
 Hung the heart of the maiden. The calm and the magical moon-
 light 370
 Seemed to inundate her soul with indefinable longings,
 As, through the garden gate, beneath the brown shade of the oak-trees,
 Passed she along the path to the edge of the measureless prairie.
 Silent it lay, with a silvery haze upon it, and fire-flies
 Gleaming and floating away in mingled and infinite numbers. 375
 Over her head the stars, the thoughts of God in the heavens,
 Shone on the eyes of man, who had ceased to marvel and worship,
 Save when a blazing comet was seen on the walls of that temple,
 As if a hand had appeared and written upon them, "Upharsin."
 And the soul of the maiden, between the stars and the fire-flies, 380
 Wandered alone, and she cried,—"O Gabriel ! O my beloved !
 Art thou so near unto me, and yet I cannot behold thee ?
 Art thou so near unto me, and yet thy voice does not reach me ?
 Ah ! how often thy feet have trod this path to the prairie !
 Ah ! how often thine eyes have looked on the woodlands around
 me ! 385
 Ah ! how often beneath this oak, returning from labour,
 Thou hast lain down to rest, and to dream of me in thy slumbers !
 When shall these eyes behold, these arms be folded about thee ?"
 Loud and sudden and near the note of a whippoorwill sounded
 Like a flute in the woods ; and anon, through the neighbouring
 thickets, 390
 Farther and farther away it floated and dropped into silence.
 "Patience !" whispered the oaks from oracular caverns of darkness ;
 And, from the moonlit meadow, a sigh responded, "To-morrow !"

Bright rose the sun next day ; and all the flowers of the garden
Bathed his shining feet with their tears, and anointed his tresses 395
With the delicious balm that they bore in their vases of crystal.

“ Farewell ! ” said the priest, as he stood at the shadowy threshold ;
See that you bring us the Prodigal Son from his fasting and famine,
And, too, the Foolish Virgin, who slept when the bridegroom was
coming.”

“ Farewell ! ” answered the maiden, and, smiling, with Basil des-
cended 400

Down to the river’s brink, where the boatmen already were wait-
ing.

Thus beginning their journey with morning, and sunshine, and glad-
ness,

Swiftly they followed the flight of him who was speeding before them,
Blown by the blast of fate like a dead leaf over the desert.

Not that day, nor the next, nor yet the day that succeeded, 405
Found they trace of his course, in lake, or forest, or river ;

Nor, after many days, had they found him ; but vague and uncertain
Rumours alone were their guides through a wild and desolate country ;
Till, at the little inn of the Spanish town of Adayes,

Weary and worn, they alighted, and learned from the garrulous land-
lord 410

That on the day before, with horses, and guides, and companions,
Gabriel left the village, and took the road of the prairies.

IV.

FAR in the West there lies a desert land, where the mountains
Lift, through perpetual snows, their lofty and luminous summits.
Down from their jagged, deep ravines, where the gorge, like a gate-
way 415

Opens a passage rude to the wheels of the emigrant’s waggon,
Westward the Oregon flows, and the Walleway and the Owyhee,
Eastward, with devious-course, among the Wind-river Mountains,
Through the Sweet-water Valley precipitate leaps the Nebraska ;
And to the south, from Fontaine-qui-bout and the Spanish sierras, 420
Fretted with sands and rocks, and swept by the wind of the desert,
Numberless torrents, with ceaseless sound, descend to the ocean,
Like the great chords of a harp, in loud and solemn vibrations.
Spreading between these streams are the wondrous, beautiful prairies,
Billowy bays of grass ever rolling in shadow and sunshine, 425

Bright with luxuriant clusters of roses and purple amorphas.
 Over them wander the buffalo herds, and the elk and the roebuck ;
 Over them wander the wolves, and herds of riderless horses ;
 Fires that blast and blight, and winds that are weary with travel ;
 Over them wandered the scattered tribes of Ishmael's children, 430
 Staining the desert with blood ; and above their terrible war-trails
 Circles and sails aloft, on pinions majestic, the vulture,
 Like the implacable soul of a chieftain slaughtered in battle,
 By invisible stairs ascending and scaling the heavens.
 Here and there rise smoke from the camps of these savage marauders 435
 Here and there rise groves from the margins of swift-running rivers ;
 And the grim, taciturn bear, the anchorite monk of the desert,
 Climbs down their dark ravines to dig for roots by the brook-side ;
 And over all is the sky, the clear and crystalline heaven,
 Like the protecting hand of God inverted above them. 440

Into this wonderful land, at the base of the Ozark Mountains,
 Gabriel far had entered, with hunters and trappers behind him.
 Day after day, with their Indian guides, the maiden and Basil
 Followed his flying steps, and thought each day to o'ertake him.
 Sometimes they saw, or thought they saw, the smoke of his camp-
 fire 445
 Rise in the morning air from the distant plain ; but at nightfall,
 When they had reached the place, they found only embers and ashes.
 And, though their hearts were sad at times and their bodies were
 weary,
 Hope still guided them on, as the magic Fata Morgana
 Showed them her lakes of light, that retreated and vanished before
 them. 450

Once, as they sat by their evening fire, there silently entered
 Into the little camp an Indian woman, whose features
 Wore deep traces of sorrow, and patience as great as her sorrow.
 She was a Shawnee woman returning home to her people,
 From the far-off hunting-grounds of the cruel Camanches, 455
 Where her Canadian husband, a Coureur-des-Bois, had been mur-
 dered.
 Touched were their hearts at her story, and warmest and friendliest
 welcome
 Gave they, with words of cheer, and she sat and feasted among them

On the buffalo meat and the venison cooked on the embers.
But when their meal was done, and Basil and all his companions, 460
Worn with the long day's march and the chase of the deer and the
bison,
Stretched themselves on the ground, and slept where the quivering fire-
light
Flashed on their swarthy cheeks, and their forms wrapped up in their
blankets,
Then at the door of Evangeline's tent she sat and repeated
Slowly, with soft, low voice, and the charm of her Indian accent, 465
All the tale of her love, with its pleasures, and pains, and reverses.
Much Evangeline wept at the tale, and to know that another
Hapless heart like her own had loved and had been disappointed.
Moved to the depths of her soul by pity and woman's compassion,
Yet in her sorrow pleased that one who had suffered was near her, 470
She in return related her love and all its disasters.
Mute with wonder the Shawnee sat, and when she had ended
Still was mute ; but at length, as if a mysterious horror
Passed through her brain, she spake, and repeated the tale of the
Mowis ;
Mowis, the bridegroom of snow, who won and wedded a maiden, 475
But, when the morning came, arose and passed from the wigwam,
Fading and melting away and dissolving into the sunshine,
Till she beheld him no more, though she followed far into the forest.
Then, in those sweet, low tones, that seemed like a weird incantation,
Told she the tale of the fair Lilinau, who was wooed by a phan-
tom, 480
That, through the pines o'er her father's lodge, in the hush of the
twilight,
Breathed like the evening wind, and whispered love to the maiden.
Till she followed his green and waving plume through the forest,
And never more returned, nor was seen again by her people.
Silent with wonder and strange surprise, Evangeline listened 485
To the soft flow of her magical words, till the region around her
Seemed like enchanted ground, and her swarthy guest the enchantress.
Slowly over the tops of the Ozark Mountains the moon rose,
Lighting the little tent, and with a mysterious splendour
Touching the sombre leaves, and embracing and filling the wood-
land. 490
With a delicious sound the brook rushed by, and the branches

Swayed and sighed overhead in scarcely audible whispers.
 Filled with the thoughts of love was Evangeline's heart, but a secret,
 Subtle sense crept in of pain and indefinite terror,
 As the cold, poisonous snake creeps into the nest of the swallow. 495
 It was no earthly fear. A breath from the region of spirits
 Seemed to float in the air of night ; and she felt for a moment
 That, like the Indian maid, she, too, was pursuing a phantom.
 And with this thought she slept, and the fear and the phantom had
 vanished.

Early upon the morrow the march was resumed; and the Shawnee 500
 Said, as they journeyed along, — “On the western slope of these
 mountains
 Dwells in his little village the Black Robe chief of the Mission.
 Much he teaches the people, and tells them of Mary and Jesus ;
 Loud laugh their hearts with joy, and weep with pain, as they hear
 him.”

Then, with a sudden and secret emotion, Evangeline answered,— 505
 “Let us go to the Mission, for there good tidings await us !”
 Thither they turned their steeds ; and behind a spur of the mountains,
 Just as the sun went down, they heard a murmur of voices,
 And in a meadow green and broad, by the bank of a river,
 Saw the tents of the Christians, the tents of the Jesuit Mission. 510
 Under a towering oak, that stood in the midst of the village,
 Knelt the Black Robe chief with his children. A crucifix fastened
 High on the trunk of the tree, and overshadowed by grape-vines,
 Looked with its agonized face on the multitude kneeling beneath it.
 This was their rural chapel. Aloft, through the intricate arches 515
 Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers,
 Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches.
 Silent, with heads uncovered, the travellers, nearer approaching,
 Knelt on the swarded floor, and joined in the evening devotions.
 But when the service was done, and the benediction had fallen 520
 Forth from the hands of the priest, like seed from the hands of the
 sower,

Slowly the reverend man advanced to the strangers, and bade them
 Welcome ; and when they replied, he smiled with benignant expression,
 Hearing the homelike sounds of his mother-tongue in the forest,
 And with words of kindness conducted them into his wigwam. 525
 There upon mats and skins they reposed, and on cakes of the maize-ear

Feasted, and slaked their thirst from the water-gourd of the teacher. Soon was their story told ; and the priest with solemnity answered :—
 “ Not six suns have risen and set since Gabriel, seated
 On this mat by my side, where now the maiden reposes, 530
 Told me this same sad tale ; then arose and continued his journey ! ”
 Soft was the voice of the priest, and he spake with an accent of kindness ;
 But on Evangeline’s heart fell his words as in winter the snow-flakes
 Fall into some lone nest from which the birds have departed.
 “ Far to the North he has gone,” continued the priest ; “ but in
 autumn, 535
 When the chase is done, will return again to the Mission.”
 Then Evangeline said, and her voice was meek and submissive,—
 “ Let me remain with thee, for my soul is sad and afflicted.”
 So seemed it wise and well unto all ; and betimes on the morrow,
 Mounting his Mexican steed, with his Indian guides and compa-
 ions, 540
 Homeward Basil returned, and Evangeline stayed at the Mission.

Slowly, slowly, slowly the days succeeded each other,—
 Days and weeks and months ; and the fields of maize that were
 springing
 Green from the ground when a stranger she came, now waving before
 her,
 Lifted their slender shafts, with leaves interlacing, and forming 545
 Cloisters for mendicant crows and granaries pillaged by squirrels.
 Then in the golden weather the maize was husked, and the maidens
 Blushed at each blood-red ear, for that betokened a lover,
 But at the crooked laughed, and called it a thief in the corn-field.
 Even the blood-red ear to Evangeline brought not her lover. 550
 “ Patience ! ” the priest would say ; “ have faith, and thy prayer will
 be answered !
 Look at this delicate plant that lifts its head from the meadow,
 See how its leaves all point to the north, as true as the magnet ;
 It is the compass-flower, that the finger of God has suspended
 Here on its fragile stalk, to direct the traveller’s journey 555
 Over the sea-like, pathless limitless, waste of the desert.
 Such in the soul of man is faith. The blossoms of passion,
 Gay and luxuriant flowers, are brighter and fuller of fragrance,
 But they beguile us, and lead us astray, and their odour is deadly.

Only this humble plant can guide us here, and hereafter 560
Crown us with asphodel flowers, that are wet with the dews of
nepenthe."

So came the autumn, and passed, and the winter,—yet Gabriel came not:

Blossomed the opening spring, and the notes of the robin and blue-bird
Sounded sweet upon wold and in wood, yet Gabriel came not.

But on the breath of the summer winds a rumour was wafted 565

Sweeter than song of bird, or hue or odour of blossom,
Far to the north and east, it is said, in the Michigan forests,
Gabriel had his lodge by the banks of the Saginaw river.

And, with returning guides, that sought the lakes of St. Lawrence,
Saying a sad farewell, Evangeline went from the Mission. 570

When over weary ways, by long and perilous marches,
She had attained at length the depths of the Michigan forests,
Found she the hunter's lodge deserted and fallen to ruin.

Thus did the long sad years glide on, and in seasons and places
Divers and distant far was seen the wandering maiden :— 575
Now in the tents of grace of the meek Moravian Missions,
Now in the noisy camps and the battle-fields of the army,
Now in secluded hamlets, in towns and populous cities.
Like a phantom she came, and passed away unremembered.
Fair was she and young, when in hope began the long journey ; 580
Faded was she and old, when in disappointment it ended.
Each succeeding year stole something away from her beauty,
Leaving behind it, broader and deeper, the gloom and the shadow.
Then there appeared and spread faint streaks of gray o'er her forehead,
Dawn of another life, that broke o'er her earthly horizon, 585
As in the eastern sky the first faint streaks of the morning.

Y.

In that delightful land which is washed by the Delaware's waters
Guarding in sylvan shades the name of Penn the apostle,
Stands on the banks of its beautiful stream the city he founded.
There all the air is balm, and the peach is the emblem of beauty, 590
And the streets still reecho the names of the trees of the forest,
As if they fain would appease the Dryads whose haunts they molested

There from the troubled sea had Evangeline landed, an exile,
 Finding among the children of Penn a home and a country.
 There old René Leblanc had died ; and when he departed, 595
 Saw at his side only one of all his hundred descendants.
 Something at least there was in the friendly streets of the city,
 Something that spake to her heart, and made her no longer a stranger ;
 And her ear was pleased with the Thee and Thou of the Quakers,
 For it recalled the past, the old Acadian country, 600
 Where all men were equal, and all were brothers and sisters.
 So, when the fruitless search, the disappointed endeavour,
 Ended, to recommence no more upon earth, uncomplaining,
 Thither, as leaves to the light, were turned her thoughts and her foot-
 steps.
 As from a mountain's top the rainy mists of the morning 605
 Roll away, and afar we behold the landscape below us,
 Sun-illumined, with shining rivers and cities and hamlets,
 So fell the mists from her mind, and she saw the world far below her
 Dark no longer, but all illumined with love ; and the pathway
 Which she had climbed so far, lying smooth and fair in the dis-
 tance. 610
 Gabriel was not forgotten. Within her heart was his image,
 Clothed in the beauty of love and youth, as last she beheld him,
 Only more beautiful made by his deathlike silence and absence.
 Into her thoughts of him time entered not, for it was not.
 Over him years had no power ; he was not changed, but trans-
 figured ; 615
 He had become to her heart as one who is dead, and not absent ;
 Patience and abnegation of self, and devotion to others,
 This was the lesson a life of trial and sorrow had taught her.
 So was her love diffused, but, like to some odorous spices,
 Suffered no waste nor loss, though filling the air with aroma. 620
 Other hope had she none, nor wish in life, but to follow
 Meekly, with reverent steps, the sacred feet of her Saviour.
 Thus many years she lived as a Sister of Mercy ; frequenting
 Lonely and wretched roofs in the crowded lanes of the city,
 Where distress and want concealed themselves from the sunlight, 625
 Where disease and sorrow in garrets languished neglected.
 Night after night, when the world was asleep, as the watchman
 repeated
 Loud, through the gusty streets, that all was well in the city,

High at some lonely window he saw the light of her taper.
 Day after day, in the gray of the dawn, as slow through the
 suburbs

630

Plodded the German farmer, with flowers and fruits for the market,
 Met he that meek, pale face, returning home from its watchings.

Then it came to pass that a pestilence fell on the city,
 Presaged by wondrous signs, and mostly by flocks of wild pigeons,
 Darkening the sun in their flight, with nought in their crows but an
 acorn.

635

And, as the tides of the sea arise in the month of September,
 Flooding some silver stream, till it spreads to a lake in the meadow,
 So death flooded life, and, o'erflowing its natural margin,
 Spread to a brackish-lake, the silver stream of existence.

Wealth had no power to bribe, nor beauty to charm, the oppressor; 640
 But all perished alike beneath the scourge of his anger ;—
 Only, alas ! the poor, who had neither friends nor attendants,
 Crept away to die in the almshouse, home of the homeless.

Then in the suburbs it stood, in the midst of meadows and wood-
 lands ;—

Now the city surrounds it ; but still, with its gateway and wicket 645
 Meek, in the midst of splendour, its humble walls seem to echo
 Softly the words of the Lord :—“ The poor ye always have with you.”
 Thither, by night and by day, came the sister of mercy, The dying
 Looked up into her face, and thought, indeed, to behold there
 Gleams of celestial light encircle her forehead with splendour, 650
 Such as the artist paints o'er the brows of saints and apostles,
 Or such as hangs by night o'er a city seen at a distance.
 Unto their eyes it seemed the lamps of the city celestial,
 Into whose shining gates ere long their spirits would enter.

Thus, on a Sabbath morn, through the streets deserted and silent 655
 Wending her quiet way, she entered the door of the almshouse.
 Sweet on the summer air was the odour of flowers in the garden ;
 And she paused on her way to gather the fairest among them,
 That the dying once more might rejoice in their fragrance and beauty.
 Then, as she mounted the stairs to the corridors, cooled by the east
 wind,

660

Distant and soft on her ear fell the chimes from the belfry of Christ
 Church,

While intermingled with these, across the meadows were wafted
 Sounds of psalms, that were sung by the Swedes in their church at
 Wicaco

Soft as descending wings fell the calm of the hour on her spirit ;
 Something within her said,—“ At length thy trials are ended ; ” 665
 And, with light in her looks, she entered the chambers of sickness.
 Noiselessly moved about the assiduous careful attendants, —
 Moistening the feverish lip, and the aching brow, and in silence
 Closing the sightless eyes of their dead, and concealing their faces,
 Where on their pallets they lay, like drifts of snow by the road-
 side. 670

Many a languid head, upraised as Evangeline entered,
 Turned on its pillow of pain to gaze while she passed, for her presence
 Fell on their hearts like a ray of the sun on the walls of a prison.
 And, as she looked around, she saw how death, the consoler,
 Laying his hand upon many a heart, had healed it for ever. 675
 Many familiar forms had disappeared in the night-time ;
 Vacant their places were, or filled already by strangers.

Suddenly, as if arrested by fear or a feeling of wonder,
 Still she stood, with her colourless lips apart, while a shudder
 Ran through her frame, and forgotten, the flowerets dropped from her
 fingers, 680
 And from her eyes and cheeks the light and bloom of the morning.
 Then there escaped from her lips a cry of such terrible anguish,
 That the dying heard it, and started up from their pillows.
 On the pallet before her was stretched the form of an old man.
 Long, and thin, and gray were the locks that shaded his temples ; 685
 But, as he lay in the morning light, his face for a moment
 Seemed to assume once more the forms of its earlier manhood ;
 So are wont to be changed the faces of those that are dying.
 Hot and red on his lips still burned the flush of the fever,
 As if life, like the Hebrew, with blood had besprinkled its portals, 690
 That the Angel of Death might see the sign, and pass over.
 Motionless, senseless, dying, he lay, and his spirit exhausted
 Seemed to be sinking down through infinite depths in the darkness,
 Darkness of slumber and death, for ever sinking and sinking.
 Then through those realms of shade, in multiplied reverberations, 695
 Heard he that cry of pain, and through the hush that succeeded
 Whispered a gentle voice, in accents tender and saint-like,

“ Gabriel ! O my beloved ! ” and died away into silence.
 Then he beheld, in a dream, once more the home of his childhood ;
 Green Acadian meadows, with sylvan rivers among them, 700
 Village, and mountain, and woodland ; and, walking under their
 shadow,
 As in the days of her youth, Evangeline rose in his vision.
 Tears came into his eyes ; and as slowly he lifted his eyelids,
 Vanished the vision away, but Evangeline knelt by his bedside.
 Vainly he strove to whisper her name, for the accents unuttered 705
 Died on his lips, and their motion revealed what his tongue would have
 spoken.

Vainly he strove to rise ; and Evangeline, kneeling beside him,
 Kissed his dying lips, and laid his head on her bosom.
 Sweet was the light of his eyes ; but it suddenly sank into darkness,
 As when a lamp is blown out by a gust of wind at a casement. 710

All was ended now, the hope, and the fear, and the sorrow,
 All the aching of heart, the restless unsatisfied longing,
 All the dull, deep pain, and constant anguish of patience !
 And, as she pressed once more the lifeless head to her bosom,
 Meekly she bowed her own, and murmured, “ Father, I thank
 Thee ! ” 715

Still stands the forest primeval ; but far away from its shadow,
 Side by side, in their nameless graves, the lovers are sleeping.
 Under the humble walls of the little Catholic churchyard,
 In the heart of the city, they lie, unknown and unnoticed.
 Daily the tides of life go ebbing and flowing beside them, 720
 Thousands of throbbing hearts, where theirs are at rest and for ever,
 Thousands of aching brains, where theirs no longer are busy,
 Thousands of toiling hands, where theirs have ceased from their
 labours,
 Thousands of weary feet, where theirs have completed their journey !

Still stands the forest primeval ; but under the shade of its
branches

725

Dwells another race, with other customs and language.

Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.

In the fisherman's cot the wheel and the loom are still busy ;

730

Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles of homespun,
And by the evening fire repeat Evangeline's story,
While from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced, neighbouring ocean
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

KING ROBERT OF SICILY.

ROBERT of Sicily, brother of Pope Urbane
And Valmond, Emperor of Allemaine,
Apparelléd in magnificent attire,
With retinue of many a knight and squire,
On St. John's Eve, at vespers, proudly sat
And heard the priests chant the Magnificat. 5
And as he listened, o'er and o'er again
Repeated, like a burden or refrain,
He caught the words, "*Deposuit potentes*
De sede, et exaltavit humiles;" 10
And slowly lifting up his kingly head,
He to a learned clerk beside him said,
"What mean these words?" The clerk made answer meet,
"He has put down the mighty from their seat,
And has exalted them of low degree." 15

Thereat King Robert muttered scornfully,
"Tis well that such seditious words are sung
Only by priests and in the Latin tongue;
For unto priests and people be it known,
There is no power can push me from my throne!" 20
And leaning back, he yawned and fell asleep,
Lulled by the chant monotonous and deep.

When he awoke, it was already night;
The church was empty, and there was no light,
Save where the lamps, that glimmered few and faint,
Lighted a little space before some saint. 25
He started from his seat and gazed around,
But saw no living thing and heard no sound.
He groped towards the door, but it was locked;
He cried aloud, and listened, and then knocked,
And uttered awful threatenings and complaints,
And imprecations upon men and saints. 30

The sounds re-echoed from the roof and walls
As if dead priests were laughing in their stalls !

At length the sexton, hearing from without
The tumult of the knocking and the shout,
And thinking thieves were in the house of prayer,
Came with his lantern, asking, "Who is there ?"
Half choked with rage, King Robert fiercely said,
"Open : 'tis I, the King ! Art thou afraid ?"
The frightened sexton, muttering, with a curse,
"This is some drunken vagabond, or worse !"
Turned the great key, and flung the portal wide ;
A man rushed by him at a single stride,
Haggard, half-naked, without hat or cloak,
Who neither turned, nor looked at him, nor spoke,
But leaped into the blackness of the night,
And vanished like a spectre from his sight.

35

40

45

Robert of Sicily, brother of Pope Urbane
And Valmond, Emperor of Allemaine,
Despoiled of his magnificent attire,
Bareheaded, breathless, and besprent with mire,
With sense of wrong and outrage desperate,
Strode on and thundered at the palace gate :
Rushed through the courtyard, thrusting in his rage
To right and left each seneschal and page,
And hurried up the broad and sounding stair,
His white face ghastly in the torches' glare.
From hall to hall he passed with breathless speed ;
Voices and cries he heard, but did not heed,
Until at last he reached the banquet-room,
Blazing with light, and breathing with perfume.

50

55

60

There on the dais sat another king,
Wearing his robes, his crown, his signet-ring,
King Robert's self in features, form, and height,
But all transfigured with angelic light !
It was an Angel ; and his presence there
With a divine effulgence filled the air,
An exaltation, piercing the disguise,

65

Though none the hidden Angel recognise.

70

A moment speechless, motionless, amazed,
The throneless monarch on the Angel gazed.
Who met his look of anger and surprise
With the divine compassion of his eyes ;
Then said, " Who art thou ? and why com'st thou here ? " 75
To which King Robert answered with a sneer,
" I am the King, and come to claim my own
From an impostor, who usurps my throne ! "
And suddenly, at these audacious words,
Up sprang the angry guests and drew their swords ; 80
The angel answered, with unruffled brow,
" Nay, not the King, but the King's Jester, thou
Henceforth shalt wear the bells and scalloped cape,
And for thy counsellor shalt lead an ape ;
Thou shalt obey my servants when they call, 85
And wait upon my henchmen in the hall ! "

Deaf to King Robert's threats and cries and prayers
They thrust him from the hall and down the stairs ;
A group of tittering pages ran before,
And as they opened wide the folding door, 90
His heart failed, for he heard, with strange alarms,
The boisterous laughter of the men-at-arms,
And all the vaulted chamber roar and ring
With the mock plaudits of " Long live the King ! "

Next morning, waking with the day's first beam, 95
He said within himself, " It was a dream ! "
But the straw rustled as he turned his head,
There were the cap and bells beside his bed,
Around him rose the bare, discoloured walls,
Close by the steeds were champing in their stalls, 100
And in the corner, a revolting shape,
Shivering and chatting sat the wretched ape,
It was no dream ; the world he loved so much
Had turned to dust and ashes at his touch !

Days came and went ; and now returned again

105

To Sicily the old Saturnian reign ;
 Under the Angel's governance benign
 The happy island danced with corn and wine,
 And deep within the mountain's burning breast
 Enceladus, the giant, was at rest.

110

Meanwhile King Robert yielded to his fate,
 Sullen and silent and disconsolate.

Dressed in the motley garb that Jesters wear,
 With look bewildered and a vacant stare,

115

Close shaven above the ears, as monks are shorn,
 By courtiers mocked, by pages laughed to scorn,
 His only friend the ape, his only food

What others left,—he still was unsubdued.

And when the Angel met him on his way,
 And half in earnest, half in jest, would say,
 Sternly, though tenderly, that he might feel
 The velvet scabbard held a sword of steel.

120

“Art thou the King ?” the passion of his woe
 Burst from him in resistless overflow,
 And, lifting high his forehead, he would fling
 The haughty answer back, “I am, I am the King!

125

Almost three years were ended ; when there came
 Ambassadors of great repute and name
 From Valmond, Emperor of Allemaine,
 Unto King Robert, saying that Pope Urbane

130

By letter summoned them forthwith to come
 On Holy Thursday to his city of Rome.

The Angel with great joy received his guests,
 And gave them presents of embroidered vests,
 And velvet mantles with rich ermine lined,
 And rings and jewels of the rarest kind.

135

Then he departed with them o'er the sea
 Into the lovely land of Italy,
 Whose loveliness was more resplendent made
 By the mere passing of that cavalcade,
 With plumes, and cloaks, and housings, and the stir
 Of jewelled bridle and of golden spur.
 And lo ! among the menials, in mock state,
 Upon a piebald steed, with shambling gait,

140

145

His cloak of foxtails flapping in the wind,
The solemn ape demurely perched behind,
King Robert rode, making huge merriment
In all the country towns through which they went.

The Pope received them with great pomp and blare
Of bannered trumpets, on Saint Peter's Square,
Giving his benediction and embrace,
Fervent, and full of apostolic grace.

While with congratulations and with prayers

He entertained the Angel unawares, 150

Robert, the Jester, bursting through the crowd,

Into their presence rushed, and cried aloud,

“I am the King ! Look, and behold in me

Robert, your brother, King of Sicily !

This man, who wears my semblance to your eyes,

160

Is an impostor in a King's disguise:

Do you not know me ? does no voice within

Answer my cry, and say we are akin ? ”

The Pope in silence, but with troubled mien,

165

Gazed at the Angel's countenance serene ;

The Emperor, laughing, said, “ It is strange sport

To keep a madman for thy Fool at court ! ”

And the poor baffled Jester in disgrace

Was hustled back among the populace.

In solemn state the Holy Week went by,

170

And Easter Sunday gleamed upon the sky ;

The presence of the Angel with its light,

Before the sun rose, made the city bright,

And with new fervour filled the hearts of men,

Who felt that Christ indeed had risen again.

175

Even the Jester, on his bed of straw,

With haggard eyes the unwonted splendour saw,

He felt within a power unfelt before,

And, kneeling humbly on his chamber floor,

He heard the rushing garments of the Lord

180

Sweep through the silent air, ascending heavenward.

And now the visit ending, and once more

Valmond returning to the Danube's shore,
Homeward the Angel journeyed, and again
The land was made resplendent with his train,
Flashing along the towns of Italy
Unto Salerno, and from thence by sea.

185

And when once more within Palermo's wall,
And, seated on the throne in his great hall,
He heard the Angelus from convent towers,
As if the better world conversed with ours,
He beckoned to King Robert to draw nigher.

190

And with a gesture bade the rest retire ;
And when they were alone, the Angel said,
"Art thou the King?" Then, bowing down his head,
King Robert crossed both hands upon his breast,
And meekly answered him : "Thou knowest best !
My sins as scarlet are ; let me go hence,
And in some cloister's school of penitence
Across those stones, that pave the way to heaven,
Walk barefoot, till my guilty soul be shriven !"

195

200

The Angel smiled, and from his radiant face
A holy light illumined all the place,
And through the open window, loud, and clear,
They heard the monks chant in the chapel near,
Above the stir and tumult of the street :
"He has put down the mighty from their seat,
And has exalted them of low degree !"
And through the chant a second melody
Rose like the throbbing of a single string :
"I am an Angel, and thou art the King !"

205

210

King Robert who was standing near the throne,
Lifted his eyes, and lo ! he was alone !
But all apparell'd as in days of old,
With ermined mantle and with cloth of gold ;
And when his courtiers came they found him there
Kneeling upon the floor, absorbed in silent prayer.

215

THE BIRDS OF KILLINGWORTH.

It was the season, when through all the land
The merle and mavis build, and building sing,
Those lovely lyrics, written by His hand,
Whom Saxon Cædmon calls the Blitheheart King ;
When on the boughs the purple buds expand, 5
The banners of the vanguard of the Spring,
And rivulets, rejoicing, rush and leap,
And wave their fluttering signals from the steep.

The robin and the bluebird, piping loud,
Filled all the blossoming orchards with their glee ; 10
The sparrows chirped as if they still were proud
Their race in Holy writ should mentioned be ;
And hungry crows assembled in a crowd,
Clamoured their piteous prayer incessantly,
Knowing who hears the ravens cry, and said, 15
“ Give us, O Lord, this day our daily bread ! ”

Across the Sound the birds of passage sailed,
Speaking some unknown language strange and sweet
Of tropic isle remote, and passing hailed
The village with the cheers of all their fleet ; 20
Or quarrelling together, laughed and railed
Like foreign sailors, landed in the street
Of seaport town, and with outlandish noise
Of oaths and gibberish frightening girls and boys.

Thus came the jocund Spring of Killingworth,
In fabulous days, some hundred years ago ;
And thrifty farmers, as they tilled the earth,
Heard with alarm the cawing of the crow,
That mingled with the universal mirth,
Cassandra-like, prognosticating woe ; 25
30

They shook their heads, and doomed with dreadful words
To swift destruction the whole race of birds.

And a town-meeting was convened straightway
To set a price upon the guilty heads
Of these marauders, who, in lieu of pay, 35
Levied black-mail upon the garden beds
And corn-fields, and beheld without dismay
The awful scarecrow, with his fluttering shreds ;
The skeleton that waited at their feast,
Whereby their sinful pleasure was increased. 40

Then from his house, a temple painted white,
With fluted columns, and a roof of red,
The Squire came forth, august and splendid sight !
Slowly descending with majestic tread,
Three flights of steps, nor looking left nor right, 45
Down the long street he walked, as one who said,
“A town that boasts inhabitants like me
Can have no lack of good society !”

The Parson too, appeared, a man austere,
The instinct of whose nature was to kill ;
The wrath of God he preached from year to year, 50
And read, with fervour, Edwards on the Will ;
His favourite pastime was to slay the deer
In summer on some Adirondac hill ;
E'en now, while walking down the rural lane,
He lopped the wayside lilies with his cane. 55

From the Academy, whose belfry crowned
The hill of Science with its vane of brass,
Came the Preceptor, gazing idly round,
Now at the clouds, and now at the green grass, 60
And all absorbed in reveries profound
Of fair Almira in the upper class,
Who was, as in a sonnet he had said,
As pure as water, and as good as bread.

And next the Deacon issued from his door, 65

In his voluminous neck-cloth, white as snow ;
 A suit of sable bombazine he wore ;
 His form was ponderous, and his step was slow ;
 There never was a wiser man before ;
 He seemed the incarnate, “ Well, I told you so ! ” 70
 And to perpetuate his great renown
 There was a street named after him in town.

These came together in the new town hall,
 With sundry farmers from the region round.
 The Squire presided, dignified and tall, 75
 His air impressive and his reasoning sound ;
 Ill fared it with the birds, both great and small ;
 Hardly a friend in all that crowd they found,
 But enemies enough, who every one
 Charged them with all the crimes beneath the sun. 80

When they had ended, from his place apart
 Rose the Preceptor, to redress the wrong,
 And, trembling like a steed before the start,
 Looked round bewildered on the expectant throng ;
 Then thought of fair Almira, and took heart 85
 To speak out what was in him, clear and strong,
 Alike regardless of their smile or frown,
 And quite determined not to be laughed down.

“ Plato, anticipating the Reviewers,
 From his Republic banished without pity 90
 The Poets ; in this little town of yours,
 You put to death, by means of a Committee,
 The ballad-singers and the Troubadours,
 The street-musicians of the heavenly city,
 The birds, who make sweet music for us all 95
 In our dark hours, as David did for Saul.

“ The thrush that carols at the dawn of day
 From the green steeples of the piny wood ;
 The oriole in the elm ; the noisy jay,
 Jargoning like a foreigner at his food ; 100
 The bluebird balanced on some topmost spray

Flooding with melody the neighbourhood ;
 Linnet and meadow-lark, and all the throng
 That dwell in nests, and have the gift of song.

“ You slay them all ! and wherefore ? for the gain
 Of a scant handful more or less of wheat,
 Or rye, or barley, or some other grain,
 Scratched up at random by industrious feet,
 Searching for worm or weevil after rain !

Or a few cherries, that are not so sweet
 As are the songs these uninvited guests
 Sing at their feast with comfortable breasts.

“ Do you ne’er think what wondrous beings these ?
 Do you ne’er think who made them, and who taught
 The dialect they speak, where melodies
 Alone are the interpreters of thought ?
 Whose household words are songs in many keys,
 Sweeter than instrument of man e’er caught !
 Whose habitations in the tree-tops even
 Are half-way houses on the road to heaven !

“ Think every morning when the sun peeps through
 The dim, leaf-latticed windows of the grove,
 How jubilant the happy birds renew
 Their old, melodious madrigals of love !
 And when you think of this, remember too
 ’Tis always morning somewhere, and above
 The awakening continents, from shore to shore,
 Somewhere the birds are singing evermore.

“ Think of your woods and orchards without birds !
 Of empty nests that cling to boughs and beams
 As in an idiot’s brain remembered words
 Hang empty ’mid the cobwebs of his dreams !
 Will bleat of flocks or bellowing of herds
 Make up for the lost music, when your teams
 Drag home the stingy harvest, and no more
 The feather’d gleaners follow to your door ?

105

110

115

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125

130

135

“ What ! would you rather see the incessant stir
 Of insects in the windrows of the hay,
 And hear the locust and the grasshopper
 Their melancholy hurdy-gurdies play ?

140

Is this more pleasant to you than the whir
 Of meadow-lark, and her sweet roundelay,
 Or twitter of little field-fares, as you take
 Your nooning in the shade of bush and brake ?

“ You call them thieves and pillagers ; but know,

145

They are the winged wardens of your farms,
 Who from the cornfields drive the insidious foe,
 And from your harvests keep a hundred harms ;
 Even the blackest of them all, the crow,

Renders good service as your man-at-arms,
 Crushing the beetle in his coat of mail,
 And crying havoc on the slug and snail.

150

“ How can I teach your children gentleness,
 And mercy to the weak, and reverence
 For Life, which, in its weakness or excess,

155

Is still a gleam of God’s omnipotence,
 Or death, which, seeming darkness, is no less
 The self-same light, although averted hence,
 When by your laws, your actions, and your speech,
 You contradict the very things I teach ? ”

160

With this he closed ; and through the audience went

A murmur like the rustle of dead leaves ;
 The farmers laughed and nodded, and some bent
 Their yellow heads together like their sheaves ;
 Men have no faith in fine-spun sentiment

165

Who put their trust in bullocks and in beeves.
 The birds were doomed ; and, as the record shows,
 A bounty offered for the heads of crows.

There was another audience out of reach,

Who had no voice nor vote in making laws,

170

But in the papers read his little speech,

And crowned his modest temples with applause ;

They made him conscious, each one more than each,
He still was victor, vanquished in their cause.
Sweetest of all, the applause he won from thee,
O fair Almira, at the Academy !

175

And so the dreadful massacre began ;
O'er fields and orchards, and o'er woodland crests,
The ceaseless fusillade of terror ran.

Dead fell the birds, with blood-stains on their breasts,
Or wounded crept away from sight of man,
While the young died of famine in their nests ;
A slaughter to be told in groans, not words,
The very St. Bartholomew of Birds !

180

The Summer came, and all the birds were dead ;
The days were like hot coals ; the very ground
Was burned to ashes ; in the orchards fed
Myriads of caterpillars, and around
The cultivated fields and garden beds
Hosts of devouring insects crawled, and found
No foe to check their march, till they had made
The land a desert without leaf or shade.

185

190

Devoured by worms, like Herod, was the town,
Because, like Herod, it had ruthlessly
Slaughtered the Innocents. From the trees spun down
The canker-worms upon the passers-by,
Upon each woman's bonnet, shawl, and gown,
Who shook them off with just a little cry ;
They were the terror of each favourite walk,
The endless theme of all the village talk.

195

200

The farmers grew impatient, but a few
Confessed their error, and would not complain,
For after all, the best thing one can do
When it is raining, is to let it rain.
Then they repealed the law, although they knew
It would not call the dead to life again ;
As schoolboys, finding their mistake too late,
Draw a wet sponge across the accusing slate.

205

That year in Killingworth the Autumn came
 Without the light of his majestic look, 210
 The wonder of the falling tongues of flame,
 The illumined pages of his Doom's-Day book.
 A few lost leaves blushed crimson with their shame,
 And drowned themselves despairing in the brook,
 While the wild wind went moaning everywhere, 215
 Lamenting the dead children of the air !

But the next Spring a stranger sight was seen,
 A sight that never yet by bard was sung,
 As great a wonder as it would have been
 If some dumb animal had found a tongue ! 220
 A waggon, overarched with evergreen,
 Upon whose boughs were wicker cages hung,
 All full of singing birds, came down the street,
 Filling the air with music wild and sweet.

From all the country round these birds were brought, 225
 By order of the town, with anxious quest,
 And, loosened from their wicker prisons, sought
 In woods and fields the places they loved best,
 Singing loud canticles, which many thought
 Were satires to the authorities addressed, 230
 While others, listening in green lanes, averred
 Such lovely music never had been heard !

But blither still and louder carolled they
 Upon the morrow, for they seemed to know,
 It was the fair Almira's wedding-day, 235
 And everywhere, around, above, below,
 When the Preceptor bore his bride away,
 Their songs burst forth in joyous overflow,
 And a new heaven bent over a new earth
 Amid the sunny farms of Killingworth. 240

THE BELL OF ATRI.

AT Atri in Abruzzo, a small town
Of ancient Roman date, but scant renown,
One of those little places that have run
Half up the hill, beneath a blazing sun,
And then sat down to rest, as if to say, 5
“I climb no farther upward, come what may,”—
The Re Giovanni, now unknown to fame,
So many monarchs since have borne the name,
Had a great bell hung in the market-place
Beneath a roof, projecting some small space, 10
By way of shelter from the sun and rain.
Then rode he through the streets with all his train,
And, with the blast of trumpets loud and long,
Made proclamation, that whenever wrong
Was done to any man, he should but ring 15
The great bell in the square, and he, the King,
Would cause the Syndic to decide thereon.
Such was the proclamation of King John.

How swift the happy days in Atri sped,
What wrongs were righted, need not here be said,
Suffice it that, as all things must decay, 20
The hempen rope at length was worn away,
Unravelled at the end, and, strand by strand,
Loosened and wasted in the ringer’s hand,
Till one, who noted this in passing by,
Mended the rope with braids of briony, 25
So that the leaves and tendrils of the vine
Hung like a votive garland at a shrine.

By chance it happened that in Atri dwelt
A knight, with spur on heel and sword in belt,
Who loved to hunt the wild-boar in the woods,
Who loved his falcons with their crimson hoods, 30

Who loved his hounds and horses, and all sports
 And prodigalities of camps and courts ;—
 Loved, or had loved them ; for at last, grown old, 35
 His only passion was the love of gold.
 He sold his horses, sold his hawks and hounds,
 Rented his vineyards and his garden-grounds,
 Kept but one steed, his favourite steed of all,
 To starve and shiver in a naked stall, 40
 And day by day sat brooding in his chair,
 Devising plans how best to hoard and spare.
 At length he said : “ What is the use or need
 To keep at my own cost this lazy steed,
 Eating his head off in my stables here, 45
 When rents are low and provender is dear ?
 Let him go feed upon the public ways ;
 I want him only for the holidays.”
 So the old steed was turned into the heat
 Of the long, lonely, silent, shadeless street ; 50
 And wandered in suburban lanes forlorn,
 Barked at by dogs, and torn by brier and thorn.

One afternoon, as in that sultry clime
 It is the custom in the summer time,
 With bolted doors and window-shutters closed, 55
 The inhabitants of Atri slept or dozed ;
 When suddenly upon their senses fell
 The loud alarm of the accusing bell !
 The Syndic started from his deep repose,
 Turned on his couch, and listened, and then rose 60
 And donned his robes, and with reluctant pace
 Went panting forth into the market-place,
 Where the great bell upon its cross-beam swung
 Reiterating with persistent tongue,
 In half-articulate jargon, the old song : 65
 “ Some one hath done a wrong, hath done a wrong ! ”

But ere he reached the belfry's light arcade
 He saw, or thought he saw, beneath its shade,
 No shape of human form of woman born,
 But a poor steed dejected and forlorn, 70

Who with uplifted head and eager eye
 Was tugging at the vines of briony.
 "Domeneddio!" cried the Syndic straight,
 "This is the Knight of Arti's steed of state!
 He calls for justice, being sore distressed,
 And pleads his cause as loudly as the best."
 Meanwhile from street and lane a noisy crowd
 Had rolled together like a summer cloud,
 And told the story of the wretched beast
 In five-and-twenty different ways at least,
 With much gesticulation and appeal
 To heathen gods, in their excessive zeal.
 The Knight was called and questioned; in reply
 Did not confess the fact, did not deny;
 Treated the matter as a pleasant jest,
 And set at naught the Syndic and the rest.
 Maintaining, in an angry undertone,
 That he should do what pleased him with his own.

And thereupon the Syndic gravely read
 The proclamation of the King; then said: 90
 "Pride goeth forth on horseback grand and gay,
 But cometh back on foot, and begs its way;
 Fame is the fragrance of heroic deeds,
 Of flowers of chivalry, and not of weeds!
 These are familiar proverbs; but I fear 95
 They never yet have reached your knightly ear.
 What fair renown, what honour, what repute
 Can come to you from starving this poor brute?
 He who serves well and speaks not, merits more
 Than they who clamour loudest at the door.
 Therefore the law decrees that as this steed 100
 Served you in youth, henceforth you shall take heed
 To comfort his old age, and to provide
 Shelter in stall, and food and field beside."

The Knight withdrew abashed; the people all
 Led home the steed in triumph to his stall.
 The King heard and approved, and laughed in glee,
 And cried aloud: "Right well it pleaseth me!" 105

75

80

85

90

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100

105

Church-bells at best but ring us to the door ;
 But go not in to mass ; my bell doth more :
 It cometh into court and pleads the cause
 Of creatures dumb and unknown to the laws ;
 And this shall make, in every Christian clime,
 The Bell of Atri famous for all time.”

110

HYMN TO THE NIGHT.

'Ασπασίη τριλλιστος

I HEARD the trailing garments of the Night
 Sweep through her marble halls !
 I saw her sable skirts all fringed with light
 From the celestial walls !

I felt her presence, by its spell of might,
 Stoop o'er me from above ;
 The calm, majestic presence of the Night,
 As of the one I love.

5

I heard the sounds of sorrow and delight,
 The manifold, soft chimes,
 That fill the haunted chambers of the Night,
 Like some old poet's rhymes.

10

From the cool cisterns of the midnight air
 My spirit drank repose ;
 The fountain of perpetual peace flows there,—
 From those deep cisterns flows.

15

O holy Night ! from thee I learn to bear
 What man has borne before !
 Thou layest thy finger on the lips of Care,
 And they complain no more.

20

Peace ! Peace ! Orestes-like I breathe this prayer !
 Descend with broad-winged flight,
 The welcome, the thrice-prayed-for, the most fair,
 The best-beloved Night !

A PSALM OF LIFE.

WHAT THE HEART OF THE YOUNG MAN SAID TO THE PSALMIST.

TELL me not, in mournful numbers,
 "Life is but an empty dream !"
 For the soul is dead that slumbers,
 And things are not what they seem.

Life is real ! Life is earnest ! 6
 And the grave is not its goal ;
 "Dust thou art, to dust returnest,"
 Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow, 10
 Is our destined end or way ;
 But to act, that each to-morrow
 Find us farther than to-day.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting,
 And our hearts, though stout and brave,
 Still, like muffled drums, are beating 15
 Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
 In the bivouac of Life,
 Be not like dumb, driven cattle !
 Be a hero in the strife ! 20

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant !
 Let the dead Past bury its dead !
 Act,—act in the living Present !
 Heart within, and God o'erhead.

Lives of great men all remind us
 We can make our lives sublime,
 And, departing, leave behind us
 Footprints on the sands of time ;

Footprints, that perhaps another,
 Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
 A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
 Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
 With a heart for any fate ;
 Still achieving, still pursuing,
 Learn to labour and to wait.

25

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THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH.

UNDER a spreading chestnut-tree
 The village smithy stands,
 The smith, a mighty man is he,
 With large and sinewy hands ;
 And the muscles of his brawny arms
 Are strong as iron bands.

His hair is crisp, and black, and long,
 His face is like the tan ;
 His brow is wet with honest sweat,
 He earns whate'er he can,
 And looks the whole world in the face,
 For he owes not any man.

5

10

Week in, week out, from morn till night,
 You can hear his bellows blow ;
 You can hear him swing his heavy sledge,
 With measured beat and slow,
 Like a sexton ringing the village bell,
 When the evening sun is low.

15

And children coming home from school
 Look in at the open door ;
 They love to see the flaming forge,
 And hear the bellows roar,
 And catch the burning sparks that fly
 Like chaff from a threshing-floor.

He goes on Sunday to the church,
 And sits among his boys ;
 He hears the parson pray and preach,
 He hears his daughter's voice,
 Singing in the village choir,
 And makes his heart rejoice.

It sounds to him like her mother's voice,
 Singing in Paradise !
 He needs must think of her once more,
 How in the grave she lies ;
 And with his hard, rough hand he wipes
 A tear out of his eyes.

Toiling,—rejoicing,—sorrowing,
 Onward through life he goes ;
 Each morning sees some task begun,
 Each evening sees its close !
 Something attempted, something done,
 Has earned a night's repose.

Thanks, thanks to thee, my worthy friend,
 For the lesson thou hast taught !
 Thus at the flaming forge of life
 Our fortunes must be wrought ;
 Thus on its sounding anvil shaped
 Each burning deed and thought.

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THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

THIS is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
 Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms ;
 But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
 Startles the village with strange alarms.

Ah ! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
 When the death-angel touches those swift keys !
 What loud lament and dismal Miserere
 Will mingle with their awful symphonies ?

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
 The cries of agony, the endless groan,
 Which through the ages that have gone before us,
 In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
 Through Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
 And loud, amid the universal clamour,
 O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
 Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
 And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
 Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin;

The tumult of each sacked and burning village,
 The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns ;
 The soldier's revels in the midst of pillage ;
 The wail of famine in beleaguered towns ;

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
 The rattling musketry, the clashing blade ;
 And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
 The diapason of the cannonade.

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Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies ?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need for arsenals nor forts :

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred !
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain !

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease ;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, " Peace ! "

Peace ! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies !
But beautiful as songs of the immortals.
The holy melodies of love arise.

THE BRIDGE.

I stood on the bridge at midnight,
As the clocks were striking the hour,
And the moon rose o'er the city,
Behind the dark church-tower.

I saw her bright reflection
In the waters under me,
Like a golden goblet falling
And sinking into the sea.

30

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And far in the hazy distance
Of that lovely night in June, 10
The blaze of the flaming furnace
Gleamed redder than the moon.

Among the long black rafters,
The wavering shadows lay,
And the current that came from the ocean
Seemed to lift and bear them away ; 15

As sweeping and eddying through them,
Rose the belated tide,
And, streaming into the moonlight,
The sea-weed floated wide. 20

And like those waters rushing
Among the wooden piers,
A flood of thoughts came o'er me
That filled my eyes with tears.

How often, O how often,
In the days that had gone by, 25
I had stood on that bridge at midnight
And gazed on that wave and sky !

How often, O how often,
I had wished that the ebbing tide
Would bear me away on its bosom
O'er the ocean wild and wide ! 30

For my heart was hot and restless,
And my life was full of care,
And the burden laid upon me
Seemed greater than I could bear. 35

But now it has fallen from me,
It is buried in the sea ;
And only the sorrow of others
Throws its shadow over me. 40

Yet whenever I cross the river
On its bridge with wooden piers,
Like the odour of brine from the ocean
Comes the thought of other years.

And I think how many thousands
 Of care-encumbered men,
 Each bearing his burden of sorrow,
 Have crossed the bridge since then.

45

I see the long procession
 Still passing to and fro,
 The young heart hot and restless,
 And the old subdued and slow !

50

And for ever and for ever,
 As long as the river flows,
 As long as the heart has passions,
 As long as life has woes ;

55

The moon and its broken reflection
 And its shadows shall appear,
 As the symbol of love in heaven,
 And its wavering image here.

60

THE DAY IS DONE.

THE day is done, and the darkness
 Falls from the wings of Night
 As a feather is wafted downward
 From an eagle in its flight.

I see the lights of the village
 Gleam through the rain and the mist,
 And a feeling of sadness comes o'er me
 That my soul cannot resist :

5

A feeling of sadness and longing,
 That is not akin to pain,
 And resembles sorrow only
 As the mist resembles the rain.

10

Come read to me some poem,
 Some simple and heartfelt lay,
 That shall soothe that restless feeling, 15
 And banish the thoughts of day.

Not from the grand old masters,
 Not from the bards sublime,
 Whose distant footsteps echo
 Through the corridors of Time. 20

For, like strains of martial music,
 Their mighty thoughts suggest
 Life's endless toil and endeavour ;
 And to-night I long for rest.

Read from some humbler poet, 25
 Whose songs gushed from his heart,
 As showers from the clouds of summer,
 Or tears from the eyelids start ;

Who, through long days of labour,
 And nights devoid of ease, 30
 Still heard in his soul the music
 Of wonderful melodies.

Such songs have power to quiet
 The restless pulse of care,
 And come like the benediction 35
 That follows after prayer.

Then read from the treasured volume
 The poem of thy choice,
 And lend to the rhyme of the poet
 The beauty of thy voice. 40

And the night shall be filled with music,
 And the cares, that infest the day,
 Shall fold their tents, like the Arabs,
 And as silently steal away.

RESIGNATION.

THERE is no flock, however watched and tended,

But one dead lamb is there !

There is no fireside, howsoe'er defended,

But has one vacant chair !

The air is full of farewells to the dying,

And mournings for the dead ;

The heart of Rachel, for her children crying,

Will not be comforted !

5

Let us be patient ! These severe afflictions

Not from the ground arise,

But oftentimes celestial benedictions

Assume this dark disguise.

10

We see but dimly through the mists and vapours,

Amid these earthly damps ;

What seem to us but sad, funereal tapers,

15

May be heaven's distant lamps.

There is no Death ! What seems so is transition ;

This life of mortal breath

Is but a suburb of the life elysian,

Whose portal we call Death.

20

She is not dead,—the child of our affection,—

But gone unto that school

Where she no longer needs our poor protection,

And Christ himself doth rule.

In that great cloister's stillness and seclusion,

By guardian angels led,

Safe from temptation, safe from sin's pollution,

She lives, whom we call dead.

25

Day after day we think what she is doing
 In those bright realms of air ;
 Year after year, her tender steps pursuing
 Behold her grown more fair.

30

Thus do we walk with her, and keep unbroken
 The bond which nature gives,
 Thinking that our remembrance, though unspoken,
 May reach her where she lives.

35

Not as a child shall we again behold her ;
 For when with raptures wild
 In our embraces we again enfold her,
 She will not be a child ;

40

But a fair maiden, in her Father's mansion,
 Clothed with celestial grace ;
 And beautiful with all the soul's expansion
 Shall we behold her face.

And though at times impetuous with emotion
 And anguish long suppressed,
 The swelling heart heaves moaning like the ocean,
 That cannot be at rest,—

45

We will be patient, and assuage the feeling
 We may not wholly stay ;
 By silence sanctifying, not concealing,
 The grief that must have way.

50

THE BUILDERS.

ALL are architects of Fate,
 Working in these walls of Time :
 Some with massive deeds and great,
 Some with ornaments of rhyme.

Nothing useless is, or low ;
 Each thing in its place is best ;
 And what seems but idle show
 Strengthens and supports the rest.

For the structure that we raise,
 Time is with materials filled ;
 Our to-days and yesterdays
 Are the blocks with which we build.

Truly shape and fashion these ;
 Leave no yawning gaps between ;
 Think not, because no man sees,
 Such things will remain unseen.

In the elder days of Art,
 Builders wrought with greatest care
 Each minute and unseen part ;
 For the Gods see everywhere,

Let us do our work as well,
 Both the unseen and the seen ;
 Make the house, where Gods may dwell,
 Beautiful, entire, and clean.

Else our lives are incomplete,
 Standing in these walls of Time,
 Broken stairways, where the feet
 Stumble as they seek to climb.

Build to-day, then, strong and sure ;
 With a firm and ample base ;
 And ascending and secure
 Shall to-morrow find its place.

Thus alone can we attain
 To those turrets, where the eye
 Sees the world as one vast plain,
 And one boundless reach of sky.

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THE LADDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

SAINT AUGUSTINE ! well hast thou said,
That of our vices we can frame
A ladder, if we will but tread
Beneath our feet each deed of shame !

All common things, each day's events,
That with the hour begin and end,
Our pleasures and our discontents,
Are rounds by which we may ascend.

The low desire, the base design.

That makes another's virtues less ;
The revel of the ruddy wine,
And all occasions of excess ;

The longing for ignoble things ;

The strife for triumph more than truth ;
The hardening of the heart, that brings
Irreverence for the dreams of youth ;

All thoughts of ill ; all evil deeds,
That have their root in thoughts of ill ;
Whatever hinders or impedes
The action of the nobler will ;—

All these must first be trampled down
Beneath our feet, if we would gain
In the bright fields of fair renown
The right of eminent domain.

We have not wings, we cannot soar;
But we have feet to scale and climb
By slow degrees, by more and more,
The cloudy summits of our time.

The mighty pyramids of stone
That wedge-like cleave the desert airs,
When nearer seen, and better known,
Are but gigantic flights of stairs.

The distant mountains, that uprear
 Their solid bastions to the skies,
 Are crossed by pathways, that appear
 As we to higher levels rise.

35

The heights by great men reached and kept
 Were not attained by sudden flight,
 But they, while their companions slept,
 Were toiling upward in the night.

40

Standing on what too long we bore
 With shoulders bent and downcast eyes
 We may discern—unseen before—
 A path to higher destinies.

Nor deem the irrevocable Past
 As wholly wasted, wholly vain,
 If, rising on its wrecks, at last
 To something nobler we attain.

45

THE FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF AGASSIZ,

MAY 28, 1857.

IT was fifty years ago,
 In the pleasant month of May,
 In the beautiful Pays de Vaud,
 A child in its cradle lay.

And Nature, the old nurse, took
 The child upon her knee,
 Saying : “Here is a story-book
 Thy Father has written for thee.”

“ Come, wander with me,” she said,

“ Into regions yet untrod ;

And read what is still unread

In the manuscripts of God.”

10

And he wandered away and away

With Nature, the dear old nurse,

Who sang to him night and day

The rhymes of the universe.

15

And whenever the way seemed long,

Or his heart began to fail,

She would sing a more wonderful song,

Or tell a more marvellous tale.

20

So she keeps him still a child,

And will not let him go,

Though at times his heart beats wild

For the beautiful Pays de Vaud ;

Though at times he hears in his dreams

The Ranz des Vaches of old,

And the rush of mountain streams

From glaciers clear and cold ;

25

And the mother at home says, “ Hark !

For his voice I listen and yearn ;

It is growing late and dark,

And my boy does not return ! ”

30

FROM MY ARM-CHAIR.

TO THE CHILDREN OF CAMBRIDGE,

Who presented to me, on my seventy-second birthday, February 27, 1879, this chair made from the wood of the village blacksmith's chestnut tree.

AM I a king, that I should call my own

This splendid ebon throne ?

Or by what reason, or what right divine,

Can I proclaim it mine ?

Only, perhaps, by right divine of song
It may to me belong ;
Only because the spreading chestnut tree
Of old was sung by me.

Well I remember it in all its prime,
When in the summer-time
The affluent foliage of its branches made
A cavern of cool shade.

There, by the blacksmith's forge, beside the street,
Its blossoms white and sweet
Enticed the bees, until it seemed alive,
And murmured like a hive.

And when the winds of autumn, with a shout,
Tossed its great arms about,
The shining chestnuts, bursting from the sheath,
Dropped to the ground beneath.

And now some fragments of its branches bare,
Shaped as a stately chair.
Have by my hearthstone found a home at last,
And whisper of the past.

The Danish king could not in all his pride
Repel the ocean tide,
But, seated in this chair, I can in rhyme
Roll back the tide of Time.

I see again, as one in vision sees,
The blossoms and the bees,
And hear the children's voices shout and call,
And the brown chestnuts fall.

I see the smithy with its fires aglow
I hear the bellows blow,
And the shrill hammers on the anvil beat
The iron white with heat !

And thus, dear children, have ye made for me
This day a jubilee,
And to my more than three-score years and ten
Brought back my youth again.

5

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The heart hath its own memory, like the mind,
 And in it are enshrined
 The precious keepsakes, into which is wrought
 The giver's loving thought.

Only your love and your remembrance could
 Give life to this dead wood,
 And make these branches, leafless now so long,
 Blossom again in song.

45

AUF WIEDERSEHEN.

IN MEMORY OF J. T. F.

UNTIL we meet again ! That is the meaning
 Of the familiar words that men repeat
 At parting in the street.
 Ah yes, till then ! but when death intervening
 Rends us asunder, with what ceaseless pain
 We wait for thee Again !

5

The friends who leave us do not feel the sorrow
 Of parting as we feel it, who must stay,
 Lamenting day by day,
 And knowing, when we wake upon the morrow,
 We shall not find in its accustomed place
 The one beloved face.

10

It were a double grief, if the departed,
 Being released from earth, should still retain
 A sense of earthly pain ;
 It were a double grief, if the true-hearted
 Who loved us here, should on the farther shore
 Remember us no more.

15

Believing, in the midst of our afflictions,
That death is a beginning, not an end, 20
We cry to them, and send
Farewells, that better might be called predictions,
Being foreshadowings of the future, thrown
Into the vast Unknown.

Faith overleaps the confines of our reason, 25
And if by faith, as in old times was said,
Women received their dead
Raised up to life, then only for a season
Our partings are, nor shall we wait in vain
Until we meet again ! 30

THE WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

A MIST was driving down the British Channel,
The day was just begun,
And through the window-panes, on floor and panel,
Streamed the red autumn sun.

It glanced on flowing flag and rippling pennon, 5
And the white sails of ships ;
And, from the frowning rampart, the black cannon
Hailed it with feverish lips.

Sandwich and Romney, Hastings, Hythe, and Dover
Were all alert that day, 10
To see the French war-steamers speeding over,
When the fog cleared away.

Sullen and silent, and like couchant lions,
Their cannon, through the night,
Holding their breath, had watched, in grim defiance, 15
The sea-coast opposite.

And now they roared at drum-beat from their stations
 On every citadel ;
 Each answering each, with morning salutations,
 That all was well.

20

And down the coast, all taking up the burden,
 Replied the distant forts,
 As if to summon from his sleep the Warden
 And Lord of the Cinque Ports.

Him shall no sunshine from the fields of azure,
 No drum-beat from the wall,
 No morning gun from the black fort's embrasure,
 Awaken with its call !

25

No more, surveying with an eye impartial
 The long line of the coast,
 Shall the gaunt figure of the old Field Marshal
 Be seen upon his post !

30

For in the night, unseen, a single warrior,
 In sombre harness mailed,
 Dreaded of man, and surnamed the Destroyer,
 The rampart wall had scaled.

35

He passed into the chamber of the sleeper,
 The dark and silent room,
 And as he entered, darker grew, and deeper,
 The silence and the gloom.

40

He did not pause to parley or dissemble,
 But smote the Warden hoar ;
 Ah ! what a blow ! that made all England tremble
 And groan from shore to shore.

Meanwhile, without, the surly cannon waited.
 The sun rose bright o'erhead ;
 Nothing in Nature's aspect intimated
 That a great man was dead.

45

NOTES.

EVANGELINE.

The introduction brings the reader or listener in imagination into the locality of the events narrated. In Longfellow's time the forest was not primeval, that is, never disturbed by the axe.

3-4. Druids.—Were the priests, bards and lawgivers of the Keltic inhabitants of ancient France and Britain. The word is thought to be derived from *δρῦς*, an oak, from their worshipping in consecrated groves of that tree. The choice of this image was perhaps due to the analogy between the Kelts and the Acadians, both of whom were to disappear before a superior and stronger people.

eld.—The use of this form for old is quite unnecessary. Cf. Thomson's archaic forms in the *Castle of Indolence*, and Byron's at the beginning of *Childe Harold*.

Develop the comparisons in ll. 3 and 4, showing the force of 'voices sad and prophetic,' and 'beards that rest.'

Is the transition from l. 3 to l. 4 too abrupt?

5. Loud.—Very true of those rocky headlands that jut out and are undermined by the sea. The Bay of Fundy is very long and narrow, (180 miles long by 35 wide), and the tides are very fierce, rising to the height of fully 70 feet, the bay lying in the direction of the great tidal wave.

Was Longfellow imitative of the sound here? Language, without special seeking, is naturally imitative of it. Vast numbers of words have been formed on this analogy between the sound and the sense. Why then have not different languages similar forms for the thunder, the wash of the sea, the crack of the rifle, etc.?

6. answers.—Is 'wails' the subject or the object of this verb? Is the answer given, and, if so, what is it?

8. roe.—This picture of the startled roe prefigures, it is thought, the tragedy of the story. Can you point out any defect in the simile?

9. Acadian.—In the earliest records Acadie is called Cadie, afterwards Acadie or L'Acadie. The name was probably adopted by the

French from a Miemac word meaning *place* or *region*, and often used as an affix to other words, to denote the place where found. The French turned this into Cadie or Acadie, the English into Quoddy. Compare Passamaquoddy, *i.e.*, Pollock *ground*.

10. Note the beauty of the next few lines, the perfect image of ll. 10 and 11, the abundance of l's and r's, and the alliteration of 10, also the neat antithesis in 11.

14. **sprinkle.**—Does not seem the fittest word here, but 'scattered' had been already used. What object has the poet in thus outlining the promised story? Would it be hurtful or not, to the interest of the tale, in ordinary story telling.

16. **endures.**—How does this differ in meaning from 'is patient'?

Note the mannerism of Longfellow in beginning ll. 16, 17; 18, 19 with the same phrase. This was made a characteristic feature of *Hiawatha*, and is quite frequent in his hexameter verse.

20. **Minas.**—The Bay of Fundy at its upper (eastern) end is divided by the County of Cumberland into two parts. The southern is the Minas Basin, which has on the N. the Counties of Cumberland and Colchester, and on the S. Hants and Kings. On the southern shore, in Kings, in the township of Horton, was the village of Grand-Pré, *i.e.*, Great Meadow.

21. This reminds us of the first line of Goldsmith's *Traveller*,
'Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.'

24. The Acadians of the Minas Settlement, brought out by Razilly and Charnisé, in 1633-40, were mainly drawn from what is now the departments of Vendée, and Lower Charente. Coming from a low, marshy country, they found in this part of Acadia the rich lands under similar conditions, and so they dealt with them by artificial dikes, as they had been accustomed to do in the motherland.

25. **turbulent.**—It has been recorded of this quarter of the Bay that cattle have frequently been overtaken and drowned, so rapid at the full moon is the advance of the tidal wave.

27. The flax plant loves low, rich lands.

29. **Blomidon.**—A rocky mountainous headland, of red sandstone, on the S. side of the narrow entrance to Minas Basin, about 400 ft. high. The mountains referred to may be the Cobequid mountains, on the northern side of the Basin, right opposite to Grand-Pré.

30-1. Note and develop the metaphors in these lines. What are the most common faults in the use of metaphors? Do you see any here?

As *personal* metaphor and *expressed* metaphor constitute the substra-

tum of all poetic language, and as *implied* metaphor forms so large a part of our ordinary speech, the student should endeavor to get clear ideas of their differences. Expanding a metaphor into a fully expressed simile will serve to show whether one clearly comprehends and appreciates the comparison, and also whether there are any defects in it.

Why is the relation between persons (as here) oftener taken to illustrate that between things, than the relation between things to illustrate that between persons.

Note that Longfellow makes the *fogs* *pitch* their *tents*, and yet that the *fogs* (or 'mists') are the very stuff of which the *tents* are made. This *inclusion* of metaphors is often unavoidable. As long as the general idea is given, and that more vividly, we must not push the comparison into much detail.

32. reposed.—Why is this an effective word?

This picture of a village of Acadia, *i.e.*, of Normandy, ll. 32-57, should be carefully examined.

The objects selected should be (i) Those most likely to *strike* the casual observer, (ii) Those *characteristic* of a Norman village, as distinguished from an English or a New England village, (iii) *Persons* should be referred to to give greater interest, and also should be *characteristic* of the locality. In short does this word picture call up to the mind an image at once *striking* and *natural*, *i.e.*, has it local color and impressiveness? The student will do well to note the advantages and disadvantages of *word* pictures and paintings, as compared with real pictures and paintings.

34. Such.—Does this refer to the material or to the style?

reign.—Why not *reigns*?

Henries.—Probably refers to Henry III., 1574-89, the last of the Valois, and Henry IV. of Navarre, 1589-1610. Is this the usual spelling?

35. dormer-windows—(Lat. *dormire*, to sleep.) Are windows standing vertically in a small gable that looks out of the side of a sloping roof, in order to light the attic or garret. Dormers were invented about 1360.

36. gables.—The houses of the middle ages had, almost all, their gables facing the street. The triangular part called the gable projected beyond the lower part, and was supported by pillars. Thus the doorway was shaded and protected, as it is now by our verandahs and porticos. In Belgium and Germany streets of this style are common in the older and remoter towns.

39. The term *kirtle* was sometimes applied to the jacket only, some-

times to the outside petticoat attached to it. A full kirtle was both, a half kirtle applied to either. A full kirtle is probably here meant.

40. Frenchwomen are well known to be fonder of color in dress than Englishwomen. Therein some say they show their taste.

40. **distaff.**—Was a staff either held in the left hand or stuck in the belt, on which the flax or wool was loosely fastened. The spindle in revolving was made to recede from the spinster, and the thread was thus drawn out. The spinning wheel (Nuremberg, 1530), fixed the spindle in a frame, and made it revolve by a wheel, turned by foot or hand, and reduced the distaff to a thing of slight importance comparatively speaking. Still the distaff is taken by the poets as the peculiar emblem of female as opposed to male occupations, and is even used as a synonym for woman herself. Only a few years later than the date of this tale, Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, (1768).

45. **Reverend.**—Note the position of this word, and the expressiveness of *up*.

48. Note the archaic tinge given by the use of *prevailed* and *anon.*

49. **Angelus.**—Or in full *Angelus Domini*, is the name given to the bell which at morning, noon and night, called the people to prayer, in memory of the visit of the angel to the Virgin Mary. Introduced into France, 1542.

50. **pale blue.**—Is the common color of smoke ; also of incense. Are there any other points recommending this as a good simile ?

53. **of God, of man.**—Are these phrases equivalent to subjective or objective possessives ? See *H. S. Gram.*, XIII., 63.

52-7. Hannay represents the Acadians in a very different light, showing them to be litigious, insincere in their professions, and unfaithful to their solemn pledges of neutrality, and acting in an underhand and hostile manner to the English, who had shown them every indulgence. (*Hist. of Acadia*, Chap. 22.)

57. What figure ?

62. **Stalworth.**—Tall, strong and brave. *Stalwart* is now the common form. *Stalworth* was the Saxon.

the man.—Would *this* be better ?

65. Note that this line says *summers* ; l. 62 says *winters*. Why the difference ?

66. Does he mean the blackberry ?

What additional force in ‘by the way-side’ ?

67. Would the omission of *shade* be an improvement ?

68. ‘Sweet as the breath of kine,’ is common enough with the poets. Is it true to nature ?

69. 'Noontide,' 'noonday,' 'midday.' Which is best in this position?

70. **Flagon.**—A large drinking vessel with narrow mouth. The time is happily going by when a maiden carrying ale to the harvest field makes a pleasing picture, be she ever so lovely.

72. Is *as* a connective of time or of manner?

The common garden hyssop imparts an agreeable aromatic odour to the consecrated water. It is not the hyssop of Scripture.

74. **chaplet.**—A string of beads called a paternoster, or rosary, used by Roman Catholics to keep count of their prayers.

missal.—Lat. *missa*, the mass, the mass book, or book in which the ordinary ritual of the Roman Catholic Church is contained.

78. A good example of synonymous phrases being a positive gain, 'ethereal,' = 'celestial,' heavenly. What additional idea does 'ethereal' perhaps add?

Note Longfellow's three pictures of the village maiden, forming a sort of climax in the beautiful comparison of l. 81.

82. Note the form *builded*. Account for the use of old forms in poetry.

84. **Sycamore.**—The sycamore of England is a species of maple, which it may be meant for here. In North America the name is often applied to a kind of plane tree. The sycamore and the fig are allied.

penthouse.—A shed with roof sloping only on one side. Not a compound of 'house,' but a corruption of 'pentice.' (Fr. *appentis*, Lat. *pendo*, to hang.) See *H. S. Gram.*, IV., 46.

88-89. A reminiscence of his European travels.

90. This line reminds one of the poem so familiar to all, of the 'old oaken bucket that hung in the well.'

93. **wains.**—A contracted and poetic form of waggon. Note the accent of 'antique,' and show the connection between it and 'antic.'

96. Give the Scriptural reference. Do you consider this an apposite allusion? Give reasons? Note that we can say 'days of old,' perhaps even 'ages of old,' but must say 'ancient days,' 'ancient ages.' Is there any law governing such different usage, or is it merely arbitrary?

99. The staircase is across the gable end, on the outside.

odorous.—Note that Milton accents on either the second or the first syllable. In *P. L.*, V., 481-2, he says, 'Last the bright consummate flower spirits odorous breathe,' while in *Sam. Agon.*, 72, he says, 'An amber scent of odorous perfume.' What is the tendency at the present time with regard to the position of the accent in words of more than two syllables?

102. **sang of mutation.**—What is meant? The use of 'rattled' and 'sang' in such immediate connection seems harsh.

106. This line as a comparison between the devotion and awe of the religious devotee, and the timidity and adoration of the youthful lover, seems a very good one, but the next, we think, goes too far, and the scriptural allusion errs in comparing great things with small.

108. Give in your own words the underlying meanings that may be considered to be conveyed by the phrase, 'by the darkness befriended. Are they in accordance with the nature of the *persons*, the *time*, and the *errand*.

109-110. These lines are very expressive of the lover's eager and yet timid and bashful presentation of himself at the door—true to all nature as well as Grand-Pré nature.

Patron Saint.—Is this told in the poem itself?

113. 'That seemed a part, etc.' If distasteful to Evangeline, as the next line intimates, in what did their music consist?

116. **mighty man.**—In what sense? A delicate and skilful touch, expressive of the simplicity and poverty of the Acadians.

honored of.—This good old English use of the genitive after adjectives is dying out. Already it gives an archaic tinge to the phrase. What classes of adjectives can be thus used?

118. **craft.**—All the *crafts* in England had at one time their special *guilds*, *i.e.*, societies or confraternities, of which a man must have been an apprentice before being allowed to work at his particular occupation. As trade increased, the guilds united for the securing of special privileges, and under the common guild of merchants (*gilda mercatoria*) towns first got their charters. The smith's craft was always a numerous one, but its influence declined with the decay of feudalism. Why?

119. Note the use of first names, to give an idea of the simplicity, equality, and familiarity of the village folk.

121. **pedagogue.**—A good word in this connection. Why?

122. **selfsame book.**—The use of the Bible and religious books generally, as reading books for the pupils, has been often defended and opposed. The opposition has carried the day. *Entertainment*, not *instruction* either secular or religious is thought of. It seems a pity that so many years of youthful time should be passed in reading anecdotes, adventures and nursery rhymes. When the memory is keen and retentive, it seems improvident not to store up (from so many thousand hours of reading) something more solid, which maturer years may utilize.

122. **plain-song.**—A name given by the Roman Catholic Church to the chanting or recitation of the collects. The melody is very simple, notes of equal length, and not beyond an octave in compass. St.

Ambrose was the inventor, and St. Gregory (Pope Gregory the Great) the perfecter of the plain-song as it now exists.

128. **like a fiery snake**.—Criticise the simile. Any allusion?

130. This is a life-like picture.

133. **nuns, etc.**.—Explain the resemblance which the children noted. The French have another saying similar to this, that they are guests going to the wedding.

139. In Pluquet's *Contes Populaires*, treating of Norman superstitions, fables and traits, we find this: "If one of a swallow's brood be blind, the mother seeks on the seashore a little stone, with which she restores its sight. Any one finding this stone in a swallow's nest has a sovereign remedy."

141-2. The difficulty of keeping an exact parallelism throughout a comparison is well illustrated here. Bring out the meaning by expanding and paraphrasing.

144. St. Eulalie was a virgin martyr of Merida (Spain), in the persecution of the Roman Emperor Diocletian, martyred on the 12th Feb.

308. Hence this is St. Eulalie's day. The old French rhyme ran, (Pluquet)

"Si le soleil rit le jour Ste. Eulalie,

Il y aura pommes et cidre à folie."

"On Ste. Eulalie's day, if the sun be showing,

There'll be plenty of apples and cider a flowing."

149. Explain the meaning of 'retreating sun,' 'Scorpion,' 'Birds of passage,' 'leaden air,' in ordinary language, and show them to be poetical expressions.

153. This simile has been condemned as a departure from Longfellow's usually severe and correct taste. Explain how or why it is in bad taste.

169. Summer of All-Saints is our Indian Summer, All-Saints' day being Nov. 1st. The French also call it St. Martin's Summer, St. Martin's day being Nov. 11th.

160-170. This and the paragraphs following are in Longfellow's best and most graceful manner. Note (a) the well chosen subject of mention, (b) the well chosen if sometimes not original phrases, (c) the rhythmical swing of the lines, (d) the melody and ease of utterance, which united to the rhythm make this part of the poem exceedingly musical. It is easier to point out faults than beauties, except that general beauty which pervades this passage as a whole, yet very few faults can be found in this part of the poem (160-235), even by the most critical eye. In reading, the feeling steals over us that Longfellow did not err in choosing this

metre, and that above all he was a consummate artist in the handling of words.

170. Herodotus (Bk. 7, 31) in relating the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, tells of a beauteous plane-tree which the king found, of which he was so enamored that he dressed it out as a woman, and set a guard by it. A later historian, (not to be outdone, we suppose, by the garrulous old Greek) added a necklace and jewels.

174-5. These lines are not in agreement with the fact. Cattle that are housed and let out in the morning often do these things, but not in the evening after the 'Day with its burden and heat.'

176-7. Same idea with other poets. So Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Sc. I.

"Wie schön der Kuh das Band zu Halge steht."

"Das weisz sie auch, dasz sie den Reihen führt."

189. The Norman saddles were very high in front, and made chiefly of wood. Note the term 'saddle-tree.'

193-4. In Tennyson's drama of *Queen Mary*, III., 5, the streaming of the milk into the sounding pails is brought out by lines containing many *k* sounds. "When you came and kissed me, milking the cows."

203. **Darted.** Show the appropriateness of this word.

205. Pewter was once very common for dishes, spoons, etc., but has wholly gone out of use for such purposes. It is an alloy of tin and lead.

dresser.—Fr. *dresser*, to arrange. A low cupboard.

207. **carols.**—This custom of singing carols is as early as the 2nd century. They degenerated as times went on, and in the 13th century were lamented by the clergy as profane. There seems good excuse for the severe legislation of the Puritans regarding Christmas. Since their time the festivities have been decenter, but, in England at least, the excessive eating and drinking leaves scanty room for religious exercises and meditation.

215. The choir is made up of *the old man* and the *wheel*. The simile seems a very good one. Note the imitative harmony of 'clock clicked.'

219. 'Rattled' is a common word in this connection. Why is 'sounded' better here? Note the periphrasis.

221. This is a reversal of the ordinary way of nature, *i.e.*, from the *head* to the *heart*; yet for all that the line strikes one as well put.

222-228. What do you think of the farmer's welcoming speech, as to its agreement with his character and the surroundings? Derive *joyful* and give other similar derivatives.

231. **jest.**—To what does this refer?

234. The idea of good luck from old horseshoes has not yet vanished

from the uneducated mind. For a protection against witches, our superstitious forefathers nailed them over their doors. Lord Nelson had one nailed to the mast of his ship, the *Victory*.

240. See introduction for extracts from the proclamation.

255. Scan this line according to the Hexameter metre.

249. Louisburg, on Cape Breton, was built by the French early in the 18th century, as a military and naval station. It was taken in 1745 by General Pepperell, commanding an expedition from Massachusetts, restored to England by the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle, and recaptured by the English in 1757, under Wolfe and Boscawen.

Beau Séjour was a French fort on the neck of land connecting Acadia with the mainland. This had just been taken by Winslow's forces before the circumstances mentioned in the text.

Port Royal, afterwards Annapolis Royal, at the mouth of the Annapolis river, had long been disputed ground, and held alternately by French and English, but in 1710 was captured by English from New England, and afterwards retained. Its site was on the N. bank of the Annapolis river, about six miles lower down than the present city.

247. *thinketh*.—Would *think* be better? Why?

252. Does the second part of this line add any force to the first?

255. What is the farmer's reason for this statement?

259. The *contract* was the legal marriage, but the married life did not begin perhaps for some time, and in the case of good Catholics not till after the rites of the Church had been performed.

267. *notary*.—An officer authorized to attest contracts or writings of any kind. In France he is the necessary maker of all contracts when the value exceeds 100 francs. His writings are preserved and registered by himself, the contracting parties keeping only copies of the original.

270. *Shocks*.—A corruption of *shag*, the root of *shaggy*.

hairs.—Would *hair* do as well?

272. *supernal*.—Another example of Longfellow's shrewd choice of words. *Supernal* means 'celestial' or 'heavenly,' but as the old notary could hardly have come up to the level indicated by these words, Longfellow takes refuge in a word less used, therefore less known, and therefore as yet conveying scarcely any idea but that in the root meaning.

274. A good example of the descent to the commonplace.

275. He probably refers to Queen Anne's War, (1702-13), when the French aided the Indians in their wars with the English colonists.

277. *guile*.—The Acadians have been accused of duplicity. They were, indeed, in a difficult position; drawn one way by their sympathies of race and religion, and the other by the necessity of submission.

280. *Loup-garou* or 'werewolf,' *i.e.*, man-wolf. An old superstition once especially prevalent in Europe, and still lingering in some parts of France. A bogey or ogre (garou), who roams about, devouring infants, and assumes the form of a wolf (loup). Compare our 'bugbear.'

281. In Devonshire the pixies are credited with riding away horses and weaving their tails.

282. Pluquet relates this superstition, and conjectures that the white fleet ermine gave rise to it.

284. On Christmas Eve, so think many of the peasantry of Europe, the oxen still fall on their knees in worship of the new born Saviour, just as the old legend says they did in the stable at Bethlehem.

285. This was carried about the person. In England there was the same superstition of shutting up a spider in a quill and wearing it about the neck.

293. **Gossip.**—Give the derivation and the original meaning, and mention other words that have become degraded in meaning. (See H. S. Gr., IV., 40, d.)

295. **imagine.**—Generally used of objects visible to the mental eye
Suggest any suitable synonyms for it here.

297. **irascible.**—Distinguish from 'irate.'

298. **why and wherefore.**—Notice that very many current colloquial expressions are repetitions or tautologies, fulfilling some seemingly necessary condition of euphony or emphasis, *e.g.* 'ways and means,' 'safe and sound,' 'null and void,' 'best of my knowledge and belief.' These are sanctioned by custom and now unexceptionable, presenting but a single idea. Others are common enough, but are tautologies and should be avoided, *e.g.*, 'prominent and leading citizens,' 'rules and regulations, etc.'

302. This is an old Florentine story, and in a somewhat altered form is the theme of Rossini's opera of *La Gazza ladra* (the thievish magpie, 1817).

325. **inwoven.**—Discuss the appropriateness of this word.

328-9. Bring out by a paraphrase what you conceive to be the meaning of 1. 328, and discuss the appropriateness of the simile. Does the phrase 'in fantastic shapes' add to or detract from its effect?

346. Note L's skill in working into his verse such polysyllabic phrases as 'unsuccessful manœuvre.' Words of three syllables accented on the second, lend themselves very easily to this kind of verse.

348. **embrasure.**—The sloping or spreading sides of a wall or window. The word is most familiar in its military sense, and its use here is doubtless due to the exigencies of the metre.

350. Explain the epithet 'pallid.'

351-2. Forget-me-nots are emblems of friendship. These beautiful lines have been much admired, and the slight discrepancy as to the color of the flowers and the stars is scarcely noticed.

354. curfew.—In the middle ages this was doubtless a useful regulation, when police protection was wanting and law was weak. Hence it became an offence to be on the street after dark, and honest people were warned by the bell, which rang according to custom from 7 to 9, to lock their doors, cover their fires, (Fr. *couver-feu*) and go to bed. Note other forms of the same root, *couver*, in 'kerchief' and 'coverlet.'

362. A bold hyperbole.

370-1. The effects of the moon or moonlight both in love and lunacy have been mentioned by many generations of poets and other writers. Paraphrase l. 371, so as to bring out the true meaning of the comparison.

376-7. at times, etc.—Note this in connection with 'swelled and obeyed its power.'

381. What connection has this comparison with Evangeline or Evangeline's position, or the story to follow?

In the preceding picture, (ll. 199-381) there is scarcely anything original, and nothing beyond the ordinary in the circumstances. Simple and ignorant Acadian peasants, yet Longfellow has managed to invest the whole with a charm, and has given nobleness to his chief characters, graceful beauty to the heroine, strength and comeliness to the youth, honesty which we revere to the farmer, and honesty which we respect to the bluff blacksmith.

The student should carefully mark the words and phrases which accomplish this, *i.e.*, the poetic vocabulary which calls up these ideas of beauty, etc.

386. How do you reconcile 'labor with its hundred hands' with 'holiday dresses'? See 393.

395-8. The Abbé Raynal, a French writer, (1711-96) published a book on the settlements and trade of Europeans of the E. and W. Indies, and included some account of Canada and Acadia. His picture of rural bliss is pretty highly colored. He says: "Real misery was wholly unknown; every misfortune was relieved as it were before it could be felt. It was in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was willing to give and receive what he thought the common right of mankind." It must be remembered that the community of goods spoken of in l. 398, was one of benevolence and free will, not legal in any sense.

408. gayest, etc.—What figure?

412. What purpose does a poet serve by using uncommon words and phrases, *e.g.*, 'vibrant,' 'variant,' 'valves of the barndoors'?

413. "Tous les Bourgeois de Chartres," was a song written by the chapel master of Henry IV. (of Navarre).

"Vous connaissez Cybèle,
Qui sut fixer le Temps.
On la disait fort belle,
Même dans ses vieux ans.

Chorus—*Cette divinité, quoique déjà grand'mère,*
Avait les yeux doux, le teint frais,
Avait même certains attraits
Fermes comme la Terre."

"Le Carillon de Dunkerque," *i.e.*, the chimes played on the bells of Dunkirk, was another popular tune to which also words were set.

417-8. By way of emphasis these two lines very fitly close the account of the festivities following the betrothal.

420. The entrance of the English soldiers upon the scene seems too abrupt. Would it not have been more in agreement with the nature of the circumstances to have brought into the narrative the first sight of the vessels, the spreading of the news of their arrival, the thronging of the villagers, etc. The *fact* of their coming, seeing that the after calamity is an immediate consequence of it, should have had more prominence than is given to it by the incidental reference in the blacksmith's speech, (ll. 290, et. seq.)

427. **casement.**—A window made to open and turn on hinges, often introduced into churches, public buildings, etc.

431-2 See introduction for the circumstances.

434-6. Note the old fashioned phrase 'natural make and temper,' and the amplification of the idea, characteristic of proclamations and other legal formalities.

442-46. A Vergilian remembrance. Discuss the substitution of 'rain' for 'sling.'

454. An angry crowd may well be likened to an angry sea; but the rest of the simile does not strike one as very effective or happy.

461. **chancel**—That part of the church where the altar is placed. The door of the chancel would be the door leading into it from the **robing room** or **vestry** behind.

466. **tocsin.**—What is meant? Show the appropriateness of the word here?

470. **vigils.**—Distinguish the root and derived meanings.

474. Note how he moves from general to specific, first attracting attention, then the eyes, then the ears.

484. **Ave Maria.**—The “Hail Mary,” the first words of an invocation to the Virgin, in the service of the Roman Catholic Church.

485. **translated.**—In its root meaning—carried beyond or out of themselves. Discuss the substitution of ‘incense’ for ‘ardor.’

492. **emblazoned.**—What is the literal meaning of this word?

494. **wheaten.**—As distinguished from the barley or rye loaf of their forefathers.

495. **tankard.**—A large drinking cup or vessel with a lid, and made of metal, generally higher than broad.

498. Ambrosia was the food of the gods (of Greece and Rome), as nectar was their drink; hence whatever is pleasing to the taste and smell may poetically be called ambrosial.

499. **Ah.**—Compare its use and effect here with that in ll. 70 and 372.

500. What comparison is implied in ‘fields of her soul’? Discuss the substitution of the words ‘yet from her gentle heart.’

502. ‘Wandered.’ Hardly a good word here. Why?

505. Do you consider ‘Urged by the weary feet of their children,’ an expressive phrase. Why?

507. What is the reference?

513. A good example of the insertion of a phrase merely to heighten the effect by contrast; ‘graves of the dead,’ from which no answer could be expected, brings out more effectively the hyperbole ‘the gloomier grave of the living.’

514-22. These lines have been admired for their truth to nature. Point out the words and phrases which justify this opinion. How much was fact and how much fancy? Note the calming of Evangeline’s mind by the thunder, which in most would excite further terror. What feature in her character does this disclose?

525. **maids.**—Are these of the Bellefontaine household, or is the reference general?

535. The English soldiers and sailors had assisted in collecting the goods of the Acadians, and of course manned the boats. At Grand-Pré the males from 10 years and upwards, were collected and shut up in the church until the time of embarkation, to the number of more than 400.

547-52. It is the privilege and province of the poet to embellish his story with such attractive fictions; the unvarnished truth is seldom sufficiently readable.

557. 'eagerly running.' Remember the Acadian simplicity, the strait they were now in, and their betrothal.

570. A poetical exaggeration. As a matter of fact great care was taken not to separate families.

575-6. **refluent.**—Reminds us of Ps. 114, 3, "The sea saw it and fled." The tide in the Bay of Fundy ebbs as swiftly as it flows.

waifs.—Connected with 'waive.' Give the meaning here and exemplify other meanings.

kelp.—Here used as a variety of seaweed; properly the alkaline product of seaweed when burned.

579. **leaguer.**—German *lager*, the camp of a besieged army.

gipsy.—What is the more common spelling? Give the origin of the name.

597. See *Acts*, 28, 1-10.

600-1. In what does the resemblance consist?

605. **Benedicite**—Bless ye. The first word of a Latin hymn.

614. The Titans were (in Greek and Roman mythology) giants who attempted to deprive Saturn of the sovereignty of Heaven, but were subdued by the thunderbolts of Jupiter, Saturn's son. Briareus was one of them, and had 100 hands.

617. **gleamed.**—Would 'shone' do as well? Why?

roadstead.—Show the connection with 'ride.'

619 **shining**—Explain.

621. **gleeds.**—Hot, burning coals; connected with 'glow,' now obsolete. "Wafres piping hot out of the gleede (coal)," *Canter. Tales*, 3379.

The burning of the houses was in accordance with the instructions given to Col. Winslow by the governor, "depriving those who shall escape of all means of shelter or support, by burning their houses, and by destroying everything that may afford them their means of subsistence in the country."

636. **yet.**—Would 'and' be better? Why?

639. **abroad.**—What is the force of this word? Would 'prone on the seashore,' be more effective?

645. Distinguish 'swoon,' 'slumber,' 'trance,' 'faint,' 'unconsciousness.'

652-3. As a matter of fact great numbers did return from their exile, perhaps a majority.

657. The bell is tolled to mark the passing of the soul into the other world; the book, is, of course, the book containing the funeral service. The common phrase, 'bell, book and candle,' refers to excommunication from the church.

PART SECOND.

3. **household gods.**—Recalling the Lares and Penates of the classical mythology.

10. *Father of Waters* What river is meant?

12. The bones of the mammoth or mastodon have been found scattered in various parts over the U.S. and Canada—the greatest numbers in the Salt Licks of Kentucky. An excellent specimen has lately been found in the County of Kent, Ont.

18-20. Note that the poet represents the pathway of life which extends *before her, i.e., in the future*, as marked by the graves of those who had died *in the past*.

Explain if possible this discrepancy by reference to the simile in ll. 22-3.

25. **morning.**—In what sense here used?

30. Does 'endeavor' add anything to 'search.'

33. Would it be an improvement to omit *she*? Why?

34-5. Notice the beautiful *diminuendo* in 'rumor,' 'hearsay,' 'inarticulate whisper,' leading up to 'airy hand.'

Mark how the continuance and persistence of the quest is kept up by the repetition of the words of reference—sometimes—sometimes—sometimes—sometimes, then (48), still (64).

40. **Coureurs-du-bois.**—Bush-rangers, a class of men belonging to Canada under French rule; produced by the demands of the fur trade: half civilized, consorting and often intermarrying with the Indians, and concerned in their wars. As guides and trappers they played a very important part.

42. **Voyageurs.**—Properly river and lake boatmen, guides and pilots on water, as the bush-rangers on land.

45. There were two St. Catherines, both alike vowed to virginity. Consequently 'to braid St. Catherine's tresses,' means to remain unmarried.

55. "I hold it true, whate'er befall,

Tis better to have loved and lost,

Than never to have loved at all."—*Tennyson*.

"Ich habe gelebt und geliebet."—*Schiller*.

62. **perfected.**—Note the accent.

64. **dirge.**—A corruption of Lat. *dirige*, the first word of a Latin hymn sung at funerals. Compare 'requiem.'

66. The common expression 'poor soul,' expressive of pity, is especially effective here.

shard.—Or 'sherd,' as in 'potsherd,' a fragment of earthenware.

68. **me.**—The first mention of the narrator. This invocation to the muse seems a little out of place.

76. "The Iroquois gave it the name Ohio, *i.e.*, "Beautiful River," and LaSalle, the first European to discover it, preserved the name, so that very early it was laid down in the maps."

78. Explain the epithet "golden."

80. **raft.**—Show if you can the force of the implied comparison.

84. **kith.**—From *cūth* the participle of *cunnan*, "to know," so that the phrase "kith and kin" properly means acquaintances and blood relations.

85. By the spring of 1765 nearly 700 Acadians had arrived at New Orleans. The existence of a French population in Louisiana attracted the wandering Acadians, and they were gladly sent by the authorities to form settlements in Attakapas and Opelousas. Settlements were formed by them up even beyond Baton Rouge. Hence the term Acadian Coast, which a portion of the Mississippi river bank still bears.

90. **chutes.**—A French word meaning a fall. Of frequent use in U.S. and Canada in the sense of (1) as here, a rapid descent in a river; (2) a slide in a dam for the passage of logs; (3) a trough or tube from a higher to a lower level. Also written sometimes *shute* and *shoot*.

91. **Cotton-trees.**—More commonly cotton-wood, a tree of the poplar kind, common in the S.W. of the U.S.

92. **lagoons.**—Properly shallow lakes or inlets of the sea; here, however, applied to the lake-like expansions of the river, common in the lower parts of the Mississippi and its tributaries.

93. **wimpling.**—Rippling, originally applied to the folds of a veil.

94. **plumes.**—What is the usual word?

95. **china-trees.**—It is probable from the mention of "blossoming hedges of roses," (l. 148) that what are meant here are "China-roses," a variety of garden roses, natives of China.

99. **citron.**—A species of lemon-tree.

101. **Bayou.**—A channel leading from a lake or river.

103. **network of steel.**—The addition of the words 'of steel' does more harm by suggesting the possibility of resemblances that do not exist, than good, by giving the only resemblance, *i.e.*, that of color; 'network' alone would have been better.

104. **tenebrous.**—Sometimes 'tenebrious,' from Lat. *tenebrosus*, 'full

of darkness.' A word no doubt chosen for the metre and for alliteration, but at the same time well suited to describe the 'cypress.'

107. The herons and the white-breasted pelicans mentioned above, (l. 94) are water birds that frequent low, marshy grounds, and live chiefly by fishing.

109. The owl, loving solitude, or living in deserted places, has been given more characters and voices than most other birds, *e.g.*, to hoot, to laugh, to wail.

Cf. Gray's *Elegy*, "The moping owl doth to the moon complain."

115. compassed.—May mean 'understood.' An exceptional use of the word.

116-119. One of his most successful comparisons.

mimosa.—The sensitive plant; properly speaking only certain species possess this remarkable property.

hoof-beats of fate.—Perhaps suggested by *Rev.* 6, 8, "And I saw, and behold a pale horse, and his name was Death, and Hades followed with him."

119. attained.—Note the exceptional use, and exemplify its ordinary use.

120. vision.—Where is it defined?

124. Explain 'shadowy aisles.'

126. Give the relation of the 'if' clause.

128. Give the usual meaning of 'colonnades' and 'corridors,' and explain to what they are applied here.

129. seal.—Account for this word by reference to ll. 107-9.

140. The white crane (*Grus Americanus*) is commonly called from its peculiar note the 'whooping crane.'

In an article on Louisiana in *Scribner's Monthly*, Nov. 1873, Edward King, in describing a trip by steamboat down the Mississippi, speaks of the 'bellowings of the alligators.' We append a few extracts from his description, as showing how closely it agrees with Longfellow's.

"One should see it in October, when a delicious magic in the atmosphere transforms the masses of trees and tangled vines and creepers into fantastic semblances of ruined walls and antique tapestries. But at any season you would note towering white cypresses, shooting their ghostly trunks far above the surrounding trees, or half rotten at their bases fallen top foremost into the water. . . . You would note the long festoons of dead Spanish moss hanging from the high boughs of the red cypress. . . . Vista after vista of cypress-bordered avenues would stretch before your vision. You would see the white crane standing at some tree root, and the owl would now and then cry from a high perch.

142. The Atchafalaya is the first of the branches that flow from the west into the Gulf. The lakes are of course, like the lagoons mentioned in l. 92, mere expansions of the river.

144. *lotus*.—This name was given by the Greeks to a shrub like plant, two or three feet high, producing a fruit somewhat of the size of a plum, with a round stone in the centre, of mealy consistence, and sweetish in taste; much used by the poor as a food in the N. of Africa. The term *lotus* is also applied to a kind of water lily. The Egyptian *lotus*, celebrated in sculpture and story, so common in the Nile and its tributaries, has a large white flower, and rises from two to four feet out of the water. Among the Hindoos also the lotus plays a distinguished part, and varies in color from white to red. With the Chinese it symbolizes female beauty, the small feet of their women often being called 'golden lilies.'

151. The Wachita river is also called the Ouachita. Owing to the low and level nature of the country, all these rivers may be said to be connected by bayous.

155-8. Another example of the manner in which illustration may be pushed to a ludicrous extent, not to mention the bad taste which takes a Scriptural occurrence of importance, to which to compare so trifling a matter. Point out faults in the simile.

162. The art of the poet in bringing Evangeline and Gabriel so close together, and yet unaware of each other's presence, has been both commended and found fault with. It seems to us very natural, and sufficiently probable to found a poetical treatment upon. The student will remember that the uncommon, provided that it does not transgress possibility, and that it furnishes some emotional consequence, is the stuff upon which poetry seizes for its material. See, however, Wordsworth's position contra.

180. Why is this conveyance of intelligence from soul to soul, by some secret psychic force (unexplained as yet), the product of Evangeline's mind alone? Why not to Gabriel's as well? Why should there not be mutual appraisal of each other's vicinity?

172. *palmettos*.—A species of palm growing farther north than other American palms, sometimes called the cabbage tree from the terminal bud, which resembles a cabbage, and is used for food. Its wood is valuable for wharf timber, not being attacked by worms. It varies from 40 to 50 feet in height.

174. *Gen. 16, 7*, "And the Angel of the Lord found Hagar by the fountain in the wilderness."

178-9. Justify or condemn the use of the words 'magic' and 'friendly.'

183-4. Why does she 'blush' and say to the priest 'to you such words have no meaning'? Did he understand her, and was his answer in point?

The reasoning is not good. If, like deep waters, feeling is still, how then can words be the 'buoy,' to show where the anchor is hidden?

189. **illusions**.—Distinguish from 'elusion,' 'delusion.'

191. **Têche**.—A bayou emptying into the Atchafalaya from the west.

193. **regain**.—Would 'rejoin' do as well? Why?

210. Do you consider 'shook' a more expressive word here than the more common term 'poured'? If so, give your reasons.

211. Since the time of Orpheus, the Thracian poet, who is credited with the powers of song mentioned in the text, such hyperbole has become the common property of poets.

213. **Bacchantes**.—These were worshippers of the god Bacchus, who in Greek mythology presided over the vine and its products. They were given to all manner of excess, and their songs and dances and other practices often degenerated into extravagant and indecent orgies.

219. Opelousas is one of the great prairie parishes (counties) of Louisiana. The writer referred to in the note on line 140, says: "All the prairies in Western Louisiana are perennially green. . . . The French paid great attention to cattle and sheep husbandry in this section of Louisiana early in the last century, and it has been estimated that more than 220,000 cattle could annually be reared and transported to market from the single prairie of Opelousas. It was not uncommon for a stock-raiser to possess from 30,000 to 40,000 head of cattle."

225. **Yule-tide**.—The old English term for Christmas time.

226. He very seldom begins a new sentence so near the end of the line as here.

230. What difference would it make in the meaning to put a comma after 'roof' and a semicolon after 'supported'?

236-7. Express the meaning of "The line . . . trees," in other words.

248-9. **gaiters**.—Coverings of cloth or skin for the legs and ankles, extending from near the knees downward over part of the shoes.

doublet.—A close fitting vest, from the neck to below the waist.

sombrero.—A Spanish word meaning 'shade giver,' a broad brimmed hat, necessary in hot climates.

260. That is first a 'cloud,' then a 'shade.'

285. **tedious**.—Is there anything unusual in the way this word is employed here?

287. **trade.**—How would it affect the meaning to omit 'for'?

296. **Olympus.**—A mountain in Thessaly; the residence of the gods, according to the Greek mythology.

303. **gossips.**—In its old but now obsolete sense of familiar acquaintances or cronies.

305. **ci-devant.**—This word, whether used intentionally or not, to give a touch of humor, is really a disfigurement.

323. **hungry.**—Justify this epithet.

327. What improper ellipsis (due to the metre) in this line?

334. 'Wrathful cloud.' Note the transferred epithet.

341. See part i, l. 385.

344. **Creoles.**—Properly (as here) persons of European descent born in the West Indies or Spanish America, but now generally used of persons of any color born within the tropics.

347-9. Note the truth of these lines. 'Gentle,' 'tender,' *i.e.*, producing tender feelings, not indifference.

352. 'like children.' Longfellow has here well hit off the character of the French Canadian.

355. **Dreamlike.**—Point out the resemblance.

365. **devious.**—The alliteration has probably enticed Longfellow to use this word, the meaning of which in this place is somewhat doubtful; probably it means straying from the paths of duty or right.

366. **manifold.**—Is this word properly used here?

367. **Carthusian.**—The first monastery of this order was founded at Chartreux, near Grenoble, in France, 1086. The discipline of the order is very rigid—perpetual silence is one of their vows, and the monks are allowed to speak to one another but once a week.

369. Explain "her heart was more *fragrant* than the flowers, and yet as heavy with shadows, etc."

376. 'Stars' are 'the thoughts of God in the heavens.' Explain, if you can, the propriety and truth of this metaphor.

378. What temple is meant?

Upharsin.—Refers to the handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's banqueting room. See *Daniel* V., 25.

380. An unfortunate and obscure line in an otherwise beautiful passage. Note the immediate change of personality from 'soul' to 'she.' Does 'between . . . fire-flies,' denote cause or mere locality? What is the meaning of 'wandered alone'?

The above passage 358-393 is an excellent one for paraphrasing. Both teacher and student should remember that paraphrasing is second

only to original composition in importance, and often beyond it in point of difficulty. Very often it furnishes the only real test whether the student has fully comprehended a passage. In saying this we do not ignore the fact that much of the finest poetry is not suited for paraphrasing, and that judgment, therefore, is needed in the use of this exercise.

395-9. Two or three more of Longfellow's scriptural allusions.

As the priest is attempting a witticism, we must not look too closely into the correctness of the comparison.

404. Altogether too much hyperbole to be suitable here. The word 'blast' is too strong; fate is oftener represented as slow but 'sure of foot'; Gabriel's journey was not a 'flight' and could not have the altogether aimless course of a dead leaf, or much resemblance in any way to it.

412. 'Took the prairie trail,' as we would say in ordinary language.

413-16. Criticise the substitutions, 'lift through snows *everlasting*, their lofty and luminous *heads*,' and 'emigrant wagon.'

413. The precise whereabouts of this 'desert land' is not very clear, and is fortunately a matter of little consequence. The description ll. 417-19 would make it to be in Wyoming Territory, while l. 441 would remove it to Western Missouri or Arkansas, where the Ozark mountains are to be found.

420. Fontaine-qui-bout. Fountain that boils, *i.e.*, as we say, 'boiling spring.'

sierras.—Why are mountain ranges so called?

430. Who are meant by 'Ishmael's children,' and why so called?

423. Discuss the correctness of this comparison, also of that in l. 425.

433. A striking simile, but the next line weakens and mars the picture; the vulture sails aloft on pinions majestic, while the soul needs stairs.

426. amorphas.—A leguminous order of plants; bastard indigo.

437-8. 'Taciturn' is a strange epithet to apply to the *bear*, as if other animals were 'talkative.'

Note that certain words excite the notion of their opposite, and this opposite should not be an impossible epithet to apply to an object of the same kind. *Silent* and *noisy* may both be applied to animals, but not 'taciturn' and 'talkative.'

On the other hand 'anchorite monk' strikes us as an exceedingly happy phrase; and viewed in his character of monk, taciturnity, as well as solitariness, may be applied to the bear. Give a synonym for 'anchorite,' and the adjective corresponding to 'monk.'

roots.—The black bear (*ursus Americanus*), which is meant here, is said to prefer vegetable food.

439-40. These lines seem a fine ending for the description preceding, equivalent to saying “All these, the animate and the inanimate, the mountain, the torrent, the cañon and the prairie, the roaming bison, the wild horse, the bear and the wolf, the fierce vultures of the air, and the not less fierce and implacable sons of the desert, all are alike the creatures of God, and have not been made in vain.”

449. **Fata Morgana.**—A sort of mirage occasionally seen in the straits of Messina, and less frequently elsewhere; it consists in the appearance in the air over the sea of the objects which are on the neighboring coast. This mirage of terrestrial objects in the sky is not uncommon in the S. W. of U. S.

454-5. The Shawnees are an Indian tribe of the Algonquin family scattered through the west and south of the U. S.

The Camanches, or more commonly Comanches, are a roving tribe of the Shoshonee family also found in the south and west. They are noted as great hunters and warriors.

474. **Mowis.**—These legends Longfellow got in Schoolcraft's Indian books: the substance of them is here told.

479. **weird.**—The root is A. S. *wyrd*, fate; pertaining to the world of witches, who use the incantation (*i.e.*, a magic formula, which they croon, or mutter, or chant) *against* some one. Though the design of the user of this sorcery was not always evil, yet it was generally so, hence ‘the black art’ was another of its names.

480. Distinguish phantom, ghost, apparition.

481. **That.**—Better ‘who’ to keep up the ‘personality.’

490. They seem to have camped not in the open prairie, but by a stream; where, in such a country, the timber is found.

494. **Subtle.** Pronounce. ‘Subtile’ is another form which has, however, almost dropped out of use.

494-8. Repeating in different and less apt language the idea of 115-19.

510. **Jesuit Mission.**—Whatever may be said of the craft, cunning and wiliness of the Jesuits, of their being all things to all men, of their casuistry and mental reservations, of their intriguing and restless spirit, of their banishment from many Catholic countries, of the suppression and revival of their order, it can scarcely be denied with success that they have been among the first, if not the very first educators and missionaries of the world. In the Portuguese colonies, (*e.g.*, under Xavier), in China and Japan, (*e.g.*, under Ricci and Schall), the results

of their missions were really extraordinary. In Northern and Central America, in Brazil, in Paraguay and Uruguay, in California and in the Philippines, their zeal was seen, and they proved missionaries of civilization as well as of religion.

515. **rural.**—Distinguish, with examples, ‘rural’ and ‘rustic.’

516. **vespers.**—Lat. *vesper*, evening; the evening service of the Roman Catholic Church. Vesper is also used as a name for the star Venus, when she appears after sunset. What is the corresponding term for the morning service?

517. **susurrus.**—A Latin word meaning a murmur or whisper, a word formed in imitation of the sound.

521. Why ‘from the hands’?

527. **gourd.**—Plants allied to the cucumber and pumpkin, with trailing stems and fruits of a variety of shapes. The ‘bottle-gourd’ has a hard outer rind, which, when dry, is used for cups, bottles, etc.

546. **Cloisters for mendicant.**—Longfellow’s mind was steeped in the learning of the old world and the past, and his fondness for and familiarity with mediæval literature have more than once led him into inaccuracy and bad taste.

cloister.—Is quite inapplicable to crows, as they are noisy and love company; neither are they *mendicant*; thievish would be a much more fitting word. What points of resemblance do you see in the comparison?

547. **golden weather.**—Show the force of the epithet.

554. **compass-flower.**—“The *Silphium Laciniatum*, or compass plant, is found in the prairies of Michigan and Wisconsin, and to the S. and W., and is said to present the edges of the lower leaves due N. and S.”

561. **asphodels.**—Belong to the lily family, (*Liliaceæ*) and are sometimes called King’s lances. In the mythology of the Greeks, the meadows of asphodel were haunted by the shades of heroes. In Pope’s *Odyssey*, 24, 13, we read: ‘In ever flowering meads of asphodel.’ The asphodel of the older English poets is the daffodil.

nepenthe.—Homer speaks of a magic potion so called, which caused persons to forget their sorrows.

564. **wold.**—The same as ‘weald;’ used in a variety of senses, as a wood, an open country, a hilly district. Here probably the open country as contrasted with ‘in wood.’

563-70. Point out the felicities of *thought* and *expression* in these lines.

574. **sad years.**—Can this quest of *Evangeline*’s, so long, all alone, in such a state of country as then existed, without hint of support or woman’s companionship, be considered at all probable? Is it in accordance with

the laws of narrative and descriptive poetry, to contravene the probable, and to exhibit the improbable ?

576. **tents of grace.**—A rendering of the Moravian *gnaden hutten*, *i.e.*, The assembly place of the United Brethren. This sect, followers of John Huss, were driven from Bohemia, at the beginning of the 18th century, and settled in Saxony under the protection of Count Zinzen-dorf, hence often called in Germany *Herrnhuters*. They prefer living in colonies by themselves. They have been very devoted missionaries in various fields, as in Labrador and at the Cape, in the W. Indies, and even in Russia and Tartary. In 1880 they had about 100 mission stations, and 350 missionaries.

585. What life is meant, and why is it likened to the morning ?

589. Name the stream and the city, and give the meaning of the name of the city, and of that of the state.

591. Very many streets have the names of trees, as Chestnut, Pine, Locust, Spruce, Walnut, etc., especially those running E. and W.

592. **Dryads.**—Nymphs of the woods, (Gr. *drūs*, an oak), the tutelary deities of the forest.

594. **children of Penn.**—The Quakers, for whose benefit and freedom of worship, Penn got his grant from James II.

599. *Thee* and *thou* are still freely used in English provincial dialects by the uneducated classes, not, however, so generally with the familiarity and affection which characterize the use of *du* in German and *tu* in French ; oftener with a want of respect, and frequently as a sign of contempt. As early as Shakespeare's time, *theeing* and *thouing* was a way to be insolent.

603. **upon earth.**—What suggestion in these words ? What is the relation of 'uncomplaining' ?

605. There are some incongruities in this elaborate comparison. The maiden had wandered long on the mountains of *ecstasy*—surrounded by the mists of *delusion* ; but these had now rolled away ; the sun of (spiritual) enlightenment had arisen and dissipated them ; the dawn of another and purposeful existence had 'broken over her earthly horizon ' (585) ; the path of life lay 'smooth and fair in the distance' across the plain of usefulness and devotion to others, etc.

614. **for it was not.**—Explain what is meant.

620. **no waste.**—Of course not true in fact ; no *appreciable* waste. A very beautiful and perfect comparison.

624. Sisters of Mercy or Charity, at first called the Gray Sisters from the color of their dress, were recognised as an order by Pope Clement IX.,

about 1650. Latterly they have been imitated in Protestant communions.

623-32. This has been called one of the finest passages of the poem.

“Lessing says that a poet writes picturesquely, not when his words furnish matter for a material painting ; many writers do this whose writing is not picturesque, but when they have the same *effect* as a material painting, in bringing a sensuous object vividly before the mind.” —Coleridge.

Does this passage come under the above definition ? If so, indicate the details of the picture or pictures as presented to your mental vision.

But imagery, the different parts of which cannot be brought together in space and time, is different from and above the mere picturesque ; such we find in Milton, Spencer, Coleridge, dreamy, fairy-like, unreal mayhap, but still of exceeding vividness.

Note the following touches of a skilful hand :

(i) The fine contrast in the same line of the ‘lonely’ garret with the ‘crowded’ lane.

(ii) How the repetition in ‘lonely and wretched,’ ‘distress and want,’ ‘disease and sorrow.’ expands and keeps alive the impression.

(iii) The repetition and emphasizing of the *object* of this Sister of Mercy is followed by ‘night after night,’ and ‘day after day,’ to denote her zeal.

(iv) The repetition, to keep alive the impression, in ‘lonely roof,’ ‘garret,’ ‘high and lonely window.’

(v) The irony probably intended in the phrase ‘all was well in the city.’

633. The year 1793, when the yellow fever prevailed, and was a terrible pestilence in Philadelphia.

633-54. This paragraph is not nearly so good as the previous one. The phrase ‘presaged by wondrous signs,’ leads us to expect something portentous, but the poet offers us nothing in the least *terrifying*. Flocks of wild pigeons in the fall are, or rather were, so common to an American as to be no omen. The portent must be, we suppose, in their having ‘nought but an acorn in their caws.’

636-9. What is your opinion of this simile ? Can you point out any faults in it ? For what purposes should similes and other figures of speech be used ?

640-1. Note the abrupt change in the mode of representing death.

643. almshouse.—“The Philadelphians have identified the old Friends’ almshouse on Walnut street, now no longer standing, as that in which Evangeline ministered to Gabriel, and so real appeared the story,

that some even ventured to point out the graves of the two lovers.' Westcott's *Historic Mansions of Philadelphia*.

649. **thought, etc.**—Whatever credence we may place in the hallucinations of those on the boundary of the next world, it would seem that the poet has here trench'd on the improbable. 'Gleams,' from their frequent fitfulness, and 'splendor,' from its strength, scarcely agree with the comparatively subdued character of the halo of l. 652, and reflection of l. 653.

663. 'The Swedes' church' at Wicaco is still standing, the oldest in the city of Philadelphia, having been begun in 1698. Wicaco is inside the city, on the banks of the Delaware. Wilson, the ornithologist, was buried in the churchyard adjoining.

670-3. What do you think of the similes in these lines?

674. **consoler.**—Some one has remarked that Longfellow in his optimistic way couldn't have the heart to call death by hard names, and even here calls him *consoler* and *healer*. Has he, however, expressed a common and natural feeling?

688. This at least is a common belief.

690. What strikes one at once as marring this comparison, is the fact that the blood besprinkled portal in the case of the Passover meant life, here it meant death.

695. **multiplied reverberations.**—This must refer to the hallucinations of the dying, which we know belong to the sense of hearing even oftener than to that of sight.

710. If not looked into too closely this is a fine simile. We cannot help feeling, however, that Longfellow has not made the most of this death bed scene; that he lost a fine opportunity. After so many years of long search and waiting, most poets, we think, would have kept Gabriel alive a little longer, and would have heightened the interest and drawn out the pathos with a little speech. True love, robbed of passion and its grosser attributes, living still and purified by the prospect of the eternal beyond, is too seldom exhibited by our poets. We feel, too, that Longfellow could have done this, and would have done it well.

Criticise the appropriateness of this simile.

716. The first warning note of the approaching end of the tale. Note the effect of the repetitions in ll. 721-4. Shew that the poet has arranged in an effective order 'hearts—brains—hands—feet.'

725. But for the too quick dismissal and slight treatment of the death-bed scene the poet has shown skill at the close. In so short a piece that occupies but two hours in the reading, the memory can reach back even

to the verbal construction, and therefore this repetition of several of the opening lines to recall and deepen their impression is very effective, repeating and reasserting as a skilful advocate does, at the end of his argument, the theme with which he began. Thus in the prelude or introduction we have the invocation and lament, then comes the main rhythm and music of the story itself, then follows the postlude, also a lament, which revives and strengthens the picture of the desolation and wrong that form the burden and *motif* of the poem. This desolation and wrong and their lastingness are finely brought out by the two concluding lines, which are repetitive of ll. 5 and 6 of Part I.

KING ROBERT OF SICILY.

This tale is the fourth of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863), being the Sicilian's Tale. It is found in slightly varying forms in many languages and writers, *e.g.*, as an old French Morality Play, as a Legend of Southern India, in Ellis's Old English Romances, and also in the German. Among the moderns, Leigh Hunt has told the story in *A Jar of Honey from Mt. Hybla*, (perhaps Longfellow's recourse). The same theme, too, is found in Mark Twain's *Prince and Pauper*.

2. Allemaine—Germany. An Anglicised form of the French name, *Allemagne*, which itself is derived from the *Alemanni*, a confederacy of German tribes (all-men) formed to resist the Romans.

5. St. John's Eve—Also called Midsummer Eve, the evening before the 24th of June, which is kept in honor of the birth of St. John the Baptist. One of the most popular religious festivals in different parts of Europe.

6. Magnificat—The song of rejoicing by the Virgin Mary when receiving the visit of Elizabeth. See Chap. I. of St. Luke. In the R. C. service the Latin version begins :

“Magnificat anima mea Dominum.”
“My soul doth magnify the Lord.”

12. The learned clerk was probably one skilled in the law, and consequently in Latin.

29. How will you read this line in order to preserve the rhythm ?

34. stalls—Fixed seats in the choir or chancel of a cathedral or church.

35. sexton—Of what word is this a contraction ?

49-51. What is gained by this repetition ?

52. **besprent**—The participle of the obsolete verb *besprenge*, to besprinkle. What is the usual force of *be* as a prefix in forming verbs? Give examples.

53. **outrage**—Not an English compound, but a French word derived from Lat. *ultra*. What is the grammatical relation of “desperate.”

56. **seneschal**—In the middle ages this word meant a high steward, having the functions of a superintendent and master of ceremonies.

63. **dais**—The raised part of the floor at the end of a room, usually reserved for distinguished guests, and so called because often furnished with a canopy.

69. **piercing the disguise**—As far as King Robert was concerned, not for the others.

74. Discuss the substitution of “*a* divine compassion *in*.”

82. **The King's Jester**—One of the persons about a king or nobleman in the times of the Middle Ages. His business was to make sport for the Court and he was clad in motley gear, often with cap and bells, with an accompanying ape. He plays a conspicuous part in the comedy and tale of these times. His modern representative is the circus clown. Some celebrated court fools were Dagonet (King Arthur), Armstrong (James I.), Chicot (Henry IV. of France), and Yorick (Denmark, referred to in Hamlet.)

86. **Henchman**—Literally haunch-man or personal attendant. Compare “*flunkey*” (*flankey*).

105. According to the classical mythology when Saturn fled from his son Jupiter, he took refuge in Italy. Janus, King of Latium (*lateo*, to lie hid) shared his throne with him, and Saturn *civilized* Italy, teaching agriculture and the liberal arts. This was called the *golden* age from its tranquillity and mildness of rule. Longfellow has taken the view favorable to his purpose. Pope, however, has made use of the other characteristics of this age, dullness and venality.

“Of dull and venal a new world to mold,
And bring Saturnian days of lead and gold.”

—*Dunciad*, Bk. IV.

110. **Encelados**—One of the Titans (son of Titan and Terra) who rebelled against Jupiter and were at last vanquished by his thunderbolts. This particular Titan was placed under Mt. Etna, where to this very day, as he turns on his weary side, the mountain heaves, the whole island trembles, and his breath issues from the crater. See Longfellow's poem of *Enceladus* for the use of this myth as a symbol of slumbering Italy rising and shaking off the fetters of tyranny.

124. **passion**—Used in the old sense of “suffering,” as “the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

126. **forehead**—It is curious to notice how certain phrases become, as it were, consecrated ; but for the metre, “lifting high the head” would probably have been written to indicate pride and stubbornness. Yet we say “haughty brow” and not “haughty head” to express the same notion.

132. **Holy Thursday**—Another name for Ascension Day, the Thursday but one before Whitsuntide.

141. **housings**—In the plural only with this meaning, *i.e.* the trappings of a horse.

144. **piebald**—From *pie*, a magpie, and *bald*, which originally meant streaked or spotted with white.

154. What Scriptural allusion ?

171-2. An extravagant hyperbole. He makes the Angel assume the form of a man, a disguise that none could penetrate, and yet invests him with a radiance which ought to have revealed him to all beholders. No physical attributes should have been introduced clashing with that assumption. The splendor lower down, 174-6, is attributed to Christ’s coming down. The beauty of the Scriptural imagery of ll. 179-80 will be felt by all.

Angelus—This prayer of Pope Urban II. begins with the words, “Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae,” *i.e.* “the Angel of the Lord announced to Mary.” Recited three times a day at the sound of a bell, hence “Angelus bell.” See note 1. 49 *Evangeline*. It furnished the subject for Millet’s great picture.

209. Strictly speaking strings are said to *vibrate*, not to *throb*.

THE BIRDS OF KILLINGWORTH.

This is the Poet’s Tale in Part I. of *The Wayside Inn*.

2. **merle** and **mavis**—The blackbird and the thrush. Their alliterative effect leads to the use of these names by the poets. Compare Scott in the *Lady of the Lake*.

“Merry it is in the good greenwood,
When the mavis and merle are singing,
When the deer sweeps by and the hounds are in cry,
And the hunter’s horn is ringing.”—*Alice Brand’s song*.

Caedmon—Our first English poet, originally a cowherd attached to

the monastery of Whitby. After entering the Church and being educated, he wrote in the Anglian dialect a poem on the Creation, to which parts of *Paradise Lost* bear a striking resemblance, and which some say may have influenced Milton.

The passage descriptive of spring, introductory to the tale, shows clearly that Longfellow can hardly confine himself to or make a success of pure description. Entirely descriptive passages are apt to grow tedious. To be vivid, description must be picturing without detail, a few epithets calling up or suggesting what may be stored up in the memory. The danger of circumstantial mention is in not observing the proper sequence and proportion, and in perspective too much is as bad as too little.

Note how this description smacks of the scholar; look at the allusions, so characteristic. It seems almost to have an old-world flavor, and yet it is an introduction to a New England Tale. There is very little original; "merle and mavis," "lovely lyrics," "purple buds," "rejoicing rivulets," "piping loud," "blossoming orchards," "sparrows chirp," "ravens cry," "piteous prayer," are well known and almost stock phrases of the poetic vocabulary. Certainly Longfellow had not much invention.

1-8. What is the comparison implied in line 6? What are the "fluttering signals" of line 8?

9-16. **chirped**—Chirping is connected with chattering and seems to agree better with the notion of gladness than of pride.

mentioned—To what is the reference?

Do you see anything incongruous in "clamored their piteous prayer?"

ravens cry—Two mistakes here:—(1) The raven and the crow are slightly different in appearance and habits, and certainly have very different poetical associations. (2) Putting anything pathetic in connection with the crow is an artistic error.

17-20. A fine image well carried out, but rather spoiled by the abrupt change in the following lines.

Sound—Long Island Sound is probably meant.

21-4. The simile is too long; it distracts the attention too much from the main idea, and is discordant with it.

25-32. **fabulous days**—Generally used of a much more remote period than one hundred years ago.

The crow should have been left out of the list of birds in stanza 2, as it is neither a beauty nor a favorite in any respect. Its introduction here as a cause for the inconsiderate action of the farmers would then have been more in point.

Cassandra-like—To add an explanation, “prognosticating woe,” is a very good idea in allusions of this nature, as the reference gratifies the well read, and yet the meaning doesn’t puzzle the ignorant. Macaulay, whose great aim is to be *clear*, often explains allusions sufficiently for the general reader to understand the point of the reference.

Cassandra was the daughter of Priam, King of Troy. The God Apollo bestowed on her the gift of prophecy, but afterwards to punish her, being unable to revoke his gift, ordained that no one should ever believe her prophecies.

31-40. Point out any words in this stanza which indicate the locality and nature of this town, or in other words give local color.

blackmail—Properly a payment given to robbers to secure protection from other robbers, or immunity from further persecution.

In what does the humor of the last two lines consist?

41-8. This and the following four or five stanzas are in a vein of goodnatured satire, which Longfellow handles well in a short tale of this kind.

fluted—Channelled or furrowed; a word used to indicate the pretentiousness of the house, with columns like those of a temple, and a red roof.

49-56. Point out the humorous touches in these lines.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) was a Connecticut minister, educated at Yale, a powerful preacher, but noted chiefly as the author of “Freedom of the Will” and “Original Sin.” Calvinism has had no more able defender.

The Adirondack Mountains, in Northern New York, are still a favorite resort for sportsmen, both for shooting and for fishing.

57-64. What allusion in the “hill of Science?”

Point out the humor in the last line as descriptive of the “fair Almira.” Somebody has used this line to characterize Longfellow’s not very highflying muse.

65-72. How is the impression of the Deacon’s pomposity produced?

81-90. Account for the phrase “from his place apart.”

Reviewers—By these are meant the critics in the newspapers and magazines. Already literature was beginning to be recognized as a profession, *i.e.*, in the Preceptor’s time, not in Plato’s.

Plato—The celebrated Athenian philosopher, a pupil and admirer of Socrates.

The Republic was one of his chief works. In it he describes an ideal Commonwealth.

Troubadours—Minstrels of the south of France in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries; so called from the Provençal word to invent (*troubar*). In the north of France they were called *trouvères*, also from a word to invent (*trouver*). Our word poet has the same root meaning, “maker” or “inventor.” The first wrote in the *langue d'oc*; the second in the *langue d'oil*; *oc* and *oil* being the two different words for *yes*.

heavenly city—Explain what is meant.

oriole—Belongs to the thrush family, and gets its name from its golden (Lat. *aureus*) color. The Baltimore oriole, or “hang-bird” (from its hanging nest), which has orange instead of yellow, is one of our beautiful summer visitors in Ontario.

linnet—The linnet is a European not an American bird. It is one of the commonest of British singing birds, frequenting open heaths and commons as well as gardens. What is meant here is either the American goldfinch, commonly known as the yellow bird, or possibly the song sparrow.

113-120. The dominie's plea is well [put, but the last line of this stanza savors somewhat of hyperbole.

121-8. **madrigal**—A little song on some light, and usually, amatory theme; also applied to a composition for some four, five, or six voices.

Does anything in this stanza strike you as revealing the profession of the speaker?

131-2. What do you think of this simile? Give the original meaning of *idiot*, and trace if you can the connection between it and the present meaning. See Trench's *Select Glossary*.

137-44. The real locusts are not found in America, but in the United States and Canada the name is often applied to the *cicada*, whose monotonous drone, made by their wing cases, may be heard in the gardens and orchards on the hot summer days.

hurdy-gurdy—A stringed instrument whose rather monotonous music is produced by the friction of a wheel against four strings. The name is often, perhaps generally applied now to the common barrel organ of the travelling player. The word is no doubt of onomatopœic origin.

field-fares—Another mistake we think. The field-fare is a European not an American bird, and is not “little,” the length being usually from 10 to 11 inches.

roundelay—From Fr. *rond*, round. Properly a poem of 13 verses,

8 in one metre and 5 in another, but applied loosely to any song or tune in which the first strain is repeated.

145-52. He drops into the schoolmaster again. Note the double meaning in *blackest*. Why say "crying havoc?"

153-60. The preceptor's well put plea ends strongly by appealing to them in the persons of their children, and on a high plane, too.

What different meanings may be given to *still*?

164. Does "yellow" strike you as a good epithet here? Give your reasons.

169-76. "Each more than each," "victor yet vanquished." Show the epigrammatic force of these expressions.

177-84. *fusillade*—From Fr. *fusil*, a light gun, hence also fusileer, or fusilier.

St. Bartholomew—Referring to the massacre of the Protestants in France, begun on St. Bartholomew's day, 24th August, 1572. 30,000 are said to have perished.

209-16. The Scriptural allusions are rather out of taste in this "burlesquish" manner of treatment.

Why does Autumn look more majestic than the other seasons?

Explain "falling tongues," "illumined pages."

The last four lines make a fine comparison. Does it disagree in any essential point with the figure of the first four lines?

229. *canticles*—From a Latin diminutive, hence properly little songs; then hymns arranged for chanting. To what is the word applied as a proper noun?

233-40. The preceptor's love for and successful wooing of Almira is a second slender thread of narrative to add interest; the two united make an excellent conclusion. In fact the whole tale is one of the best of the *Wayside Inn*.

THE BELL OF ATRI.

Monti, the Sicilian, who is supposed to tell the tale, and whom the poet frequently had at his house, is thus described in the Prelude to the *Tales of a Wayside Inn*.

" His face was like a summer night,
All flooded with a dusky light ;
His hands were small ; his teeth shone white
As sea-shells, when he smiled or spoke ;
His sinews supple and strong as oak ;

Clean shaven was he as a priest,
 Who at mass on Sunday sings,
 Save that upon his upper lip
 His beard, a good palm's length at least,
 Level and pointed at the tip,
 Shot sideways like a swallow's wings."

Longfellow was "easily first in his day as a recounter of bewitching tales." He had a "lyrical facility of putting a story into rippling verse." But in these tales of the *Wayside Inn*, there is little imagination ; it is but graceful narrative, enlivened here and there by pleasant fancies, allusions, and comparisons.

1. **Abruzzo**—A mountainous district in Central Italy.

Re Giovanni—Italian for King John.

Syndic—An officer or magistrate invested with different powers in different countries, but generally with some judge-like functions.

Note the present ordinary meaning of the derivative "Syndicate."

26. **Briony**—A species of climbing plant ; the wild hop, also spelled "bryony."

27-8. **so that etc.**—Comparisons like these Longfellow is fond of introducing. *Simile* is "frequently employed to give brief picturesque description ;" it is also said to "enliven" and to "retard" the course of a narrative. What is your opinion of the introduction o this, at this place ?

31-2—**wild boar**—During the middle ages the wild boar abounded throughout Europe including England, and hunting it was the most esteemed of all field sports. It is still found in Italy, especially in the Pontine marshes. The late king, Victor Emanuel, was very fond of the sport.

hoods—When the falcons were taken out to hunt they had their heads covered with hoods till the game was sighted.

35. **had loved**—Observe that the *had* is not introduced till the details have been given. Can you suggest the reason.

45. **Eating his head off**—The good knight in forsaking knightly ways, forsakes a knightly form of speech.

48. **holidays**—What objection to the use of this word here ?

50. Note the expressiveness of this line and how it is gained.

55. Why "bolted doors ?"

60-1. Is anything gained by the repetition of *and* ?

61. **donned**, etc.—One way of producing a humorous effect is by using words more pretentious than the occasion calls for. Can you point out any other humorous touches in this poem ? Derive "donned."

65. **jargon**—What is the usual meaning of this word ?
 73. **Domeneddio**—An explanation of surprise. *Dio*, i.e., God.
 78. Show the force of the comparison.
 81. **gesticulation**—Italian-wise, given much to gesture and exclamations like “per Bacco,” etc.
 95. **familiar proverbs**—Explain how they apply to the knight’s case.

97. **fair renown**—Mark the repeating of phrases of almost like meaning after the manner of lawyers and law documents. Then the next line is a sort of antithesis to these high sounding words.

112. Explain what is meant by “unknown to the laws?”

113. Defend the use of “shall” here.

The sentence of the Syndic seems too light ; in fact a rather impotent conclusion. But the story is well told, and illustrates the point that Longfellow’s aim was at all hazards to make his poems interesting. He chose his topics with that intent.

HYMN TO THE NIGHT.

The heading, of which the first two epithets in line 23 are a literal translation, is from the *Iliad*, VIII, 488, where the Greeks, driven in rout to their ships by the victorious Trojans, are represented as welcoming the coming of night.

In the classical mythology Nox (Night) is commonly spoken of as a goddess, mounted in a chariot, and covered with a veil bespangled with stars. This will explain the epithets *trailing*, *sable*, *fringed* ; but it requires a pretty strong imagination to “hear . . . sweep.”

2. What are the *halls*, and why are they spoken of as *marble* ?

3. **Spell of night**—With, as it were, some secret but powerful charm.

7-12. Notice the calm, unemotional way in which Longfellow speaks of *love, sorrow, delight*. How different from the passionate language of Byron !

13-16. This stanza contains a beautiful metaphor that any poet might be glad to own.

19-20. Another and equally perfect image, but not so original. Shakespeare has something like it :

“Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care.”—*Macbeth*, II. 2.

21. **Orestes-like**—Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, was pursued by the Furies for the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra ; and as the

murder of a parent was a crime especially odious among the ancients, the vengeful goddesses pursue him far over land and sea. This is the allusion of a cultured man, an allusion which many would call recondite. What is recondite allusion is of course a matter of opinion and degree, but most readers will say, we think, that such allusions are out of place in a simple poem like this. Can you point out or refer to any other allusions or similes in the poems read which are open to the same objection ?

A PSALM OF LIFE.

The second poem at the Craigie House, written in 1838 at an open window, in full view of the morning sun. This Psalm belongs to what may be called didactic and moralising poetry. It and several others of that first cluster of poems were and are still immensely popular. Why? Because they typify the beat of the national heart, the "goaheaditiveness" of hopeful and healthful young America. Because they can be understood by all, from hod-carrier to president,—and the reader will remember that there a hod-carrier *has* a chance of becoming president. This tribute to national vanity became a great success. Its cheering strain has a thousand times been amplified from pulpits, and chanted forth by choirs ; and, for very different reasons perhaps, has pleased alike in the cottage and the factory, in the drawing-room and the hall of learning.

The *Psalm* has been called "a clever marshalling and burnishing of common places ;" it has been said that there is no poetry in its didactic moralisings, that the whole is trite and unoriginal. Yet the simile of the muffled drums is one of the finest and most original that can be found in any poetry, and that of the footprints is also good, although it will not bear such close scrutiny.

1. Express clearly in your own words the meaning of ll. 3-4, 6, 11-12, 13-16, 22, 27-8.
2. Classify and give the grammatical relation of *what* (1. 4), *heart within* (24), *that* (29), *achieving* (35), and account for the form of *find* (12).
3. Mark the rhetorical pauses, inflections, and emphatic words to be observed in reading stanzas 1 to 3.
4. How does the poet's statement in 1. 4 correspond with the Preacher's conclusion, "All is vanity" ?

5. What is the meaning of *bivouac* (l. 18)? Do you think the word is fittingly used here? Give your reasons.

6. The sixth stanza has been called "hand to mouth philosophy." Justify or controvert this criticism.

7. Is there any confusion of figures in stanzas 7 and 8? If so, point it out. Do you feel that there is any awkwardness in the grammatical structure of the 8th stanza? If so, show the cause of it.

8. Has the poet proved anything in this poem, or is it merely a collection of precepts?

THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH.

This is one of Longfellow's gems, and belongs, like "From My Arm Chair," to that group of poems connected with his home. It is one of his best pieces representing the condition and manners of every day life, sometimes called by the fine name of *genre* pictures.

In studying the poem as a whole the student may find the following questions helpful:—

(1) Are the best points seized in the personal description? What resemblances are there to the scene described in *Evangeline* concerning Basil and his smithy (116 et seq.)?

What parts of the poem, if any, indicate a Puritan village?

(2) Shakespeare says (*Troilus and Cressida*):

“One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.”

What are the "touches of nature" in this poem that show the blacksmith to be a feeling man of chaste and tender mood?

(3) What stanzas or lines of this poem echo the same sentiments as to the burden and duty of life that are found in the *Psalm*.

(4) "The *Psalm* is wholly didactic, is scarcely anything but well arranged and well-put commonplace." Is the same criticism applicable to the *Blacksmith*? Is poetry most natural to the didactic and moral regions of thinking? If not show how the *Blacksmith* excels the *Psalm*, as being nearer true poetry.

(5) Give the grammatical value and relation of "week in, week out," "makes," "like," "singing," "thanks," "shaped," and the derivation of "church," "parson," "wrought," and "anvil."

(6) Expand and show the aptness (if possible) of the comparison of the "sparks" to "chaff," and "life" to a "flaming forge."

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

This poem is said to owe its being to two causes, to Charles Sumner's speech on the true greatness of nations, and to a remark of Mrs. Longfellow to her husband as they walked around the Arsenal, when on their wedding trip. She somewhat surprised him by saying that the gun-barrels on the walls looked like an organ for Death to play. The poem is to some extent didactic, but as being richer in fancy and allusion, is on a distinctly higher plane than the *The Psalm*, *The Ladder*, and *The Builders*.

Longfellow has been accused of "tagging a moral to his song." The answer to the charge seems to be this: All poetry should have a moral aim. But that moral, that lifting process is to be accomplished, not by a pronouncement of maxims, not by precept, but by example; the drama, or narrative, or word picture, should present objects of beauty (the beautiful is, in the main, the good, and the true), or stir the emotions, all based on the convictions of truth. Longfellow first sees in everything the beautiful, hence, generally the good; the true is often ignored. How different from the philosopher of Chelsea, with whom it is first truth, hence good; and what beauty he finds is due to these two.

The *Arsenal* is the U. S. Armory, established in 1794, at Springfield, (Mass.) It employs regularly from 500 to 700 men, and contains about 275,000 stand of arms.

1-4. As the rest of the poem is pitched to such a key of pathetic indignation, the introductory sentence seems too tame; merely the words a guide or caretaker might use in showing visitors around a building. "From floor to ceiling" precedes to give prominence, and at the same time *definiteness* to the imagined organ.

a huge—Would "Some vast" do as well?

Show how "burnished" answers better for the comparison than "glittering" would.

Discuss the substitution of *its* for *their* organ.

5-8. **Will use**—This has been spoken of as a prophecy. Explain with reference to succeeding events.

Point out an example of transferred epithet in these lines.

Miserere—The fifty-first psalm is so called from the first word of the Latin version. During the Lenten services of the R. C. and some other of the Episcopal churches this penitential psalm is sung, and so came to be called the Miserere.

symphonies—Has not here its technical musical meaning, but merely denotes accompaniment.

3. **fierce**—Do you think this word is well used here? Why?

The “organ” figure is now dismissed; it would have cramped and confined his mental vision of the past.

14. **Cimbric**—The Cimbri are commonly thought to have been a people who came down from the north of Germany with the Teutons in the time of Marius, and were defeated by him (100 B. C.) They are mentioned by Caesar as living in Belgium, and by Tacitus as living in the Cimbric Chersonese (Jutland and Denmark). The Norsemen lived in the same regions north of them. But latterly the Cimbri are asserted to have been Celts, and the word is said to be the same as *Cymri* *i.e.*, the Welsh.

16. Refers to the invasions of Europe by the Tartars at different times.

20. **Aztec**—The name of the dominant tribe in Mexico when it was conquered by Hernando Cortes.

teocallis—Pyramids for the worship of the gods.

21-8. Note the change from the particular to the general. Are the different pictures arranged in a logical order, or in the most effective way?

Can you perceive the structural plan of this poem?

Genung lays down the laws of plan as distinctiveness, sequence, climax. Criticize the first eight stanzas in these respects.

diapason—A Greek compound, meaning literally *through all*; the entire compass of a voice or an instrument.

32. **celestial harmonies**—Pythagoras, the old Samian philosopher, celebrated for his doctrine of Metempsychosis, had also his theory of the Universe; the ten heavenly bodies rolling round the great central fire produced the music of the spheres or the celestial harmony. Virtue was regarded, too, as a harmony of the soul, etc.

Would *dim* be a better word than *dark*? Why?

46-7. What are the “brazen portals?” Is the representation of the “organ” here in harmony with that in the 1st stanza?

THE BRIDGE.

Next above his homilies are the poems of sentiment, *e. g.*, his self-communing in the twilight or at night, such as *The Day is Done*, *The Bridge*, *Hymn to the Night*, etc. The bent of Longfellow’s mind is to consider things not as beautiful in themselves, but as elements by which a beautiful thought may be produced. Every thing to Longfellow

suggests an image. The "drifting current," the day "cold and dreary," the "bells in the tower," the "lights through the mist," are before him, and he instantly looks about for some emotion (not a deep or powerful one) or some phase of life to compare them with. His similes and metaphors, come easily or come hard—do come at all events, and if sometimes forced and unnatural, are often novel and striking.

1-20. Notice the parts of this word-picture (remember there is no imagination or fancy)—the bridge, the midnight hour, the rising moon, the dark church tower, the flaming furnace, the hurrying tide, the floating sea-weed. Has he seized the best points for such pictures? Were the time, place and scene naturally fitted to call forth such thoughts as his?

He takes but two or three of these as suggestive of comparisons. Mention them, and show in what stanzas they are applied.

53-60. "We feel that the application is somewhat weak and hazy, and that more might have been made of such a theme." "It is a revealment of his personality, and a phase of his genius that has never ceased to charm the majority of his readers."

Can you reconcile these apparently opposite views?

THE DAY IS DONE.

This is one of the pieces in which Longfellow is said to have imitated German prototypes, especially Heine and Uhland, in rhythm and reverie. The student will remember that this poem belongs to the *Sentimental*, *i.e.*, a record of feeling either evolved from one's inner consciousness or suggested by the external. The critics generally class this and *Footsteps of Angels* and *Hymn to the Night*, etc., as of a distinctly higher grade poetically, than *The Builders*, *The Psalm*, *The Ladder*, *Excelsior*, etc. These last moral lyrics are adapted to the mental calibre of honest, unimaginative, stay-at-home people, but are scarcely important enough for the critics to flesh their literary swords upon.

1-4. Very many of Longfellow's poems descant upon the beauties of, or thoughts suggested by the night, its calm, its voices of sorrow and joy (see *Hymn*), its stars, etc.

9-12. Does he mean mental pain or physical? If mental, how does it differ from sorrow?

"As the mist is to the rain, so is my sadness to sorrow."

Explain the points of this comparison.

16. **thoughts**—In its old meaning of anxious thoughts or cares. Which do you think are the finest stanzas of this poem?

RESIGNATION.

1-6. These lines are endeared to the popular mind and found in all the books of quotations. It is difficult to explain the relation in thought of "howsoe'er defended."

9. The adjuration is given with some abruptness. The arguments follow, till in the last stanza he assumes that his reasoning has convinced.

10. "Not from the ground." Explain what is meant.

15-16. What probably suggested these lines?

17-20. " 'Dust thou art, to dust returnest'

Was not spoken of the soul."

The ideas are not at all original, but are felicitously given.

Compare:—

"A port of calms, a state of ease,
From the rough rage of swelling seas."—Parnell.

"Death is as the foreshadowing of life." - *Hooker*,

Elysian—Elysium was the happy land or paradise of the Greek poets.

21. He returns to the thought of the first stanza. The "dead lamb" was his little daughter, Fanny, who died in Sept. 1848. Do you think there is any confusion or crowding of images in the succeeding stanzas in describing her life in heaven?

29-44. One cannot help feeling the beauty of these stanzas. Is it because of the rhythm and harmony of the language, or because they touch a chord of the human heart that easily vibrates?

Mention the words that carry on the idea of 'growth' onwards to 'perfection.'

THE BUILDERS.

Another of the sermon poems. Like the *Psalm*, *The Ladder of St. Augustine* and *Resignation*, it has a text, a presentation of it under several aspects or arguments, and some practical advice as a conclusion.

1-4. Are the "massive deeds" and "ornaments of rhyme," the instruments or the materials with which we build?

5-8. Nothing is *useless* or *low*, or *idle show* in this building up of our own destiny. Why? Does he give a reason?

11-12. In what sense is this statement true?

17-20. Does he mean by these lines that in old times men were more conscientious, and more careful in regard to their actions than now? If so, is the position a true one? If he does not mean this, what does he mean?

21-24. A stanza much quoted and admired. Does he mean *may* dwell if they wish, or *may* perhaps dwell? Cannot they be said always to dwell in the House of Time?

27-8. Compare with these two lines the first stanza of *The Ladder of St. Augustine*.

31. What is the grammatical relation of "ascending and secure?"

33-6. What word in this stanza keeps up the idea of the house?

THE LADDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

St. Augustine, one of the greatest of the fathers of early Christianity, was born in Numidia, 354, A.D., and died at Hippo, 430, while the Vandals were besieging the city. In his *Confessions* he paints the depths into which he had fallen before his conversion to Christianity. Probably no other uninspired ecclesiastical writer has exerted an equal influence on the minds of the religious world. He deals with the enslavement of the human will through sin, predestination, election, reprobation, final perseverance and growth in grace, and thus may be regarded as the originator of the chief Calvinistic doctrines.

This poem is in the same general vein as the *Psalm of Life*.

3. Do you think that the vices enumerated in ll. 5-20 are meant to represent a series of successive rounds of this ladder. If so, criticize the arrangement.

16. Why are the "dreams of youth" to be held in reverence?

19. "hinders or impedes," "scale and climb" (26), "by slow degrees, by more and more." Does the second word or phrase in each of these pairs add any new idea or additional force?

24. "right of eminent domain." A legal phrase signifying sovereign ownership.

28. What are the "summits"? Why the epithet "cloudy?"

29-36. Point out the parallelism of phrase in those two stanzas Explain the reference in "desert airs," "solid bastions."

36-40. Some one has defined "genius" to be merely a capacity for hard work, and the definition is largely true. Is then the aphorism "*Poeta nascitur, non fit*" true, and if so, does it apply to Longfellow?

41-4. This stanza makes us think of the burden of sin on Christian's shoulders. But Bunyan's rolls away, Longfellow's sinner stands upon his, and so reaches higher ground. Show that both these are correct figures.

45-8. Compare this with stanza 8 of the *Psalm*. Does it merely say the same thing in a different way?

THE FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF AGASSIZ.

Agassiz was one of the "noble three" friends and associates at Harvard (Felton, Agassiz and Sumner).

"The noble three,
Who half my life were more than friends to me.
I most of all remember the divine
Something that shone in them."

Louis Agassiz studied at Zurich, Heidelberg, and Munich, and after doing some work, chiefly on *fishes*, went to Neuchatel as Professor of Natural History. He came to Harvard in 1846 in the same capacity, was transferred to Charleston in 1852 as Professor of Comparative Anatomy, but returned in 1854 to Harvard. His works on Fossils, Glaciers, and Comparative Physiology are famous. In his works he reviewed with disfavor the theory of evolution. He died in 1873, having been for some years before his death a non-resident lecturer at Cornell.

The great moral lesson of the poem is skilfully interwoven with the pathetic. It is (i.) Here before you lies the great book of nature, the record of God's purpose and plan; if you can but decipher it you will find ample evidence of harmony, symmetry of design, and development,

(ii.) In that same record of God's ways, there are still greater marvels, mysteries and excellencies which may lead you to strive onward and upward.

(iii.) The wisest of us are but children "picking up shells by the great Ocean of Truth," and such (in this life at least) we shall remain; to our finite minds that ocean is infinite; on the other side lie the kingdoms of the Spirit World.

As to the pathetic touches, i.e. those which excite tenderness and

feeling, (i.) remark the ballad-like metre, the simple language, (always used for intense pathos), with none of its common defects (pedantry, common-place or conventional expressions, and phrases that add no meaning), the graceful style—no coarse, plebeian word to mar the effect.

(ii.) It begins with the cradle, the story-book and the nurse's knee. It ends with the yearnings for home, which are common to all, and the mother's love, which never fails ; her anxiety is never at rest, her boy is still her child, even at the age of 50 years.

Point out any incongruity in the imagery. What are the words that give local color ? Can you mention any ballads or lyrical pieces which resemble this in structure and treatment ?

3. **Pays de Vaud**—One of the Swiss Cantons, lying north of Lake Geneva.

26. **Ranz des Vaches**—Literally “tunes of the cows,” the name given to the simple melodies played by the herdsmen of the Swiss Alps when driving their cattle to and from their pasture grounds.

FROM MY ARM CHAIR.

See the first stanza of *The Village Blacksmith*. The Smithy stood in Brattle Street, Cambridge. The chestnut was at last cut down, and the children put their pennies together and had a chair made from its wood.

2. **ebon**—The wood of chestnut is very dark when old, much resembling oak. Ebony is exceedingly hard, and black ; the best is found in Ceylon. The American or W. I. ebony is not dark.

5. **right divine**—In the *Hanging of the Crane* he has the “right divine of helplessness.”

25-6. Alluding, of course, to the well known story of King Canute or Cnut.

38. **jubilee**—Referring to the restoration of family lands and possessions after the lapse of fifty years, in the old Israelitish economy. See *Leviticus*, XXV. 10.

This poem belongs to the collection called *Ultima Thule*, published in 1880.

AUF WIEDERSEHEN.

The title, of which the first sentence is the translation, is simply the German equivalent of the French *au revoir*.

The poem first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1881, and

was called forth by the death of his old and intimate friend, James T. Fields, one of the early publishers of the magazine, and its editor from 1862 to 1871. Mr. Fields was a genial, cultured man, who as editor and publisher (Ticknor & Fields, afterwards Fields, Osgood & Co.), had been brought into contact or correspondence with all the leading men of letters, both in his own country and in England. It will be remembered that a very large number of Longfellow's poems first appeared in the *Monthly*.

The thoughts of the poem are in no way different from those already expressed in others, *e. g. Resignation*. He always takes an optimistic view of the hereafter; there is nothing gloomy in his views of a future state.

13-18. Note that he raises these shadows of doubt only to dispel them.

26. *By faith.* See Hebrews, XI. 35.

THE WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

Compare this threnody with Tennyson's on the same subject, *i.e.*, the death of the Duke of Wellington. Longfellow's is scenic, and in line with the Duke's office of Warden of the Cinque Ports. His fancy gives therefore, the Channel full of ships, the wind following free, a glimpse of their hereditary foe (on peaceful errand intent this time), the stern preparedness of the frowning ramparts, but all the rolling thunder of their cannon could not awaken the great Warden. Tennyson's Ode is grander in image and cadence, and fills our mind with the valor and the wisdom of the Iron Duke. But Longfellow's method of treatment is as essentially poetic.

William the Conqueror instituted the Cinque Ports and made the whole line of coast into a special jurisdiction. The Warden had a jurisdiction, civil, military, and naval. To the original 5, (1. 9) Winchelsea and Rye were afterwards added. Their chief duty was to furnish shipping and repel invaders, there being no regular national navy before the time of Henry VII. The special privileges of these towns and the authority of the Warden are now abolished. The Duke was the last Warden, and the office as held by him was only honorary; he was not a man of the sea at all.

1-8. Note the picturing force of "driving," "flowing" and "rippling," "feverish." Would it do to say "rippling flag and flowing pennon?" Why not?

13. couchant—Like “rampant” is a heraldic term referring to the position of the lion in the quartering of a shield ; *couchant*, lying down with head upraised ; *rampant*, (same root as *romp*) standing on the hind legs.

25-8. A fine stanza : the idea of course is a common one, but we can feel that it is a fit expression. Compare Gray's stanza, presenting prominently the idea of appeal to the “spirit that's gone :”

“ Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath
Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust !”

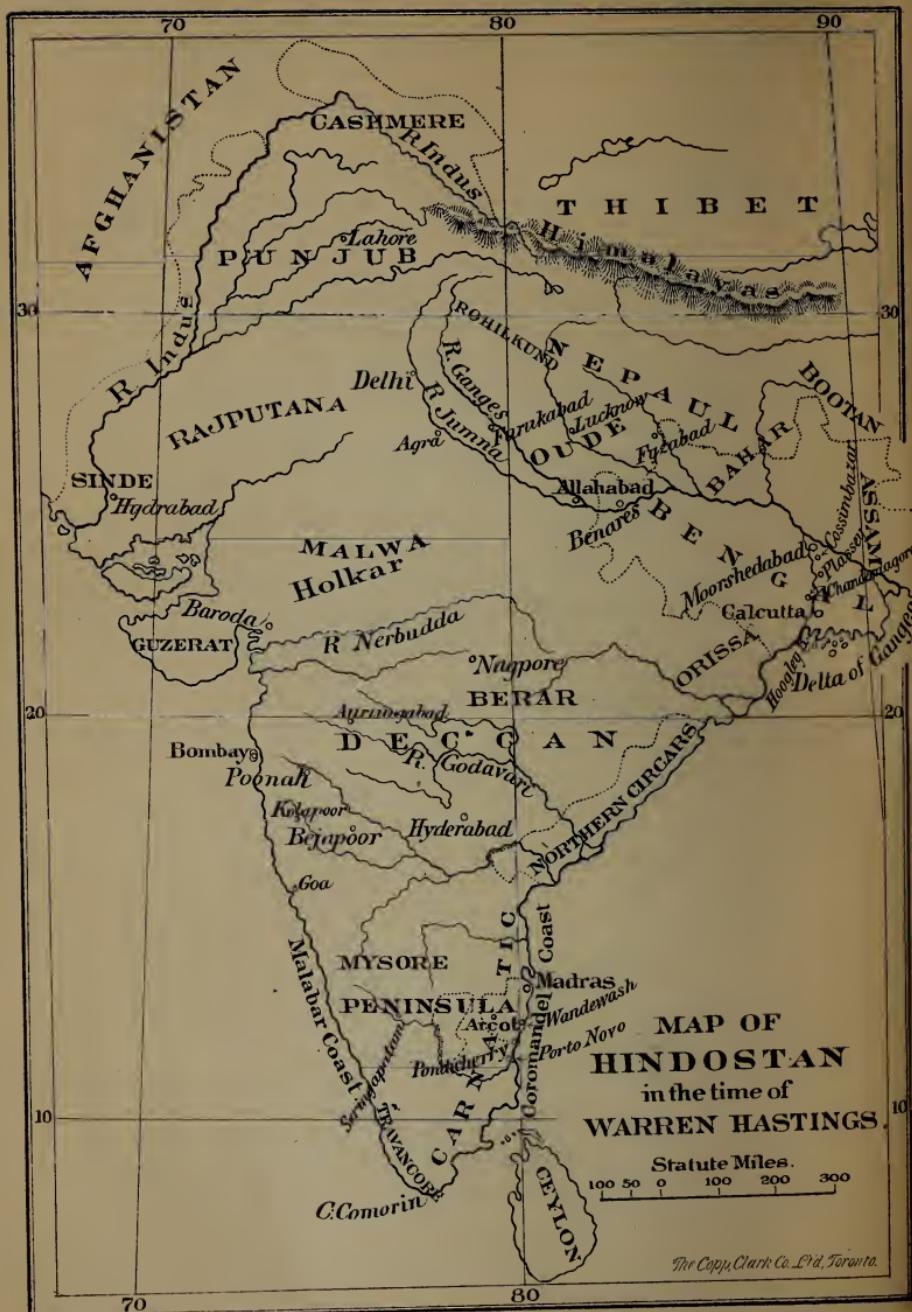
Longfellow's lines are in perfect agreement with his method of treatment—an appeal to the physical by the objects he has just been assembling in his picture.

29. What do you think he means by “eye impartial” ?

35. “ Surnamed the Destroyer.” This phrase seems to us to weaken instead of strengthening. Something should be left to the mind of the reader. With this exception the last five stanzas are not easily excelled ; the imagery is of a higher grade than usual with Longfellow, and sequence, cumulation and climax are better observed.

45-8. The stroke of a true artist.





WARREN HASTINGS:

An Essay

BY

LORD MACAULAY.

EDITED FOR HIGH SCHOOL USE, WITH INTRODUCTIONS,
NOTES, ETC.;

TO WHICH IS APPENDED NOTES ON COMPOSITION, INCLUDING A
CLASSIFICATION OF THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF LITERARY STYLE, ETC.,

AND

AN OUTLINE OF THE PLOT OF

SCOTT'S IVANHOE,

WITH A LIST OF ITS CHIEF PERSONAGES, ETC.

BY

G. MERCER ADAM,

AND

GEORGE DICKSON, M. A.,

Principal of Upper Canada College.

TORONTO:

THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, (LIMITED),
1890.

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety, by THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, LIMITED, in the office of the Minister of Agriculture.

P R E F A C E .

THE Editors of this edition of Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings have prepared the work to meet the wants of those who intend going up for the Matriculation Examinations in English Composition, for the year 1891, at the Universities. The literary student is to be congratulated on the selection, for the second time by Toronto University, of a work so attractive as this in English prose, at once interesting in matter and animated in style. He is also to be congratulated on the fact that an English Classic is placed on the Curriculum not for grammatical dissection, nor even for critical study, in its literary and rhetorical aspects, but as material for exercises in English Composition.

While this special object has been kept in view, the Editors have not been unmindful of the many difficulties, literary and historical, which the Essay presents to the reader. In the endeavour to meet these, the Editors have supplied in the Introductions and Annotations such helps as they have deemed essential, and which the slender resources of a student's library do not usually furnish. To facilitate reading and aid the memory in retaining what has been read, the text of the Essay has been broken into chapters, the headings of which may serve, in some degree, as Themes for Composition.

With Macaulay's Essay, Scott's *Ivanhoe* has for the same year been bracketed, as an additional prose work, with which the candidate is expected to familiarize himself, and on which his powers of writing an English Prose composition will be tested. To aid the student in his reading of the novel, an outline of its plot has been furnished, with a list of its principal characters and some observations on its historical setting.

Appended to the work is a brief classification of the technical characteristics of literary style, and a few hints on its intellectual, emotional, and æsthetic qualities, together with an enumeration of the chief Figures of Speech, deemed essential to the young student in comprehending the *technique* of literary criticism.

In prescribing the Prose Work for English Composition in the several years, the Curriculum of Toronto University enjoins on Candidates for Matriculation that nothing but an essay will be required based on the work or works for the year. This, the Curriculum adds, "shall be dealt with rather as a test of the candidate's power of English composition than as a proof of his knowledge of the subject written upon. Legible writing and correct spelling and punctuation will be regarded as indispensable, and special attention will be paid to the structure of sentences and paragraphs. The examiner will allow a choice of subjects, some of which must be based on the selections named, with which the candidate is expected to familiarize himself by careful reading." The Editors deem it proper to call the attention of those using the present book to this requirement of the University authorities.

TORONTO, July, 1890.

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MACAULAY'S LIFE,
AND THE
CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS WRITINGS.

THOMAS BABINGTON (*Lord*) MACAULAY, one of the greatest masters of English prose, was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, October 25th, 1800. His father, Zachary Macaulay, was intimately associated with Wilberforce in the emancipation of the West Indian slaves. Macaulay, early in life, gave promise of winning a notable name. As a boy he was precocious and self-confident ; though he justified these characteristics by ceaseless reading, by the assiduous cultivation of his mental faculties, and by the exercise of a memory phenomenal in its strength. His university career at Cambridge was not distinguished for profound scholarship : he was rather a desultory student, and preferred to win success in his own paths. English literature was the field in which he chose to seek honours, and there he won them, as well as within the circle of a literary society attached to the College, where he shone in debate. In 1822 he took his B.A. degree, and two years afterwards obtained a College Fellowship.

On leaving the University Macaulay studied law and was called to the bar. Literature, however, was his lodestar, and in the arena of letters he had already achieved a name. His contributions to *Knight's Quarterly* had been well received ; but public attention was specially directed to the young writer by his article in the *Edinburgh Review* on Milton. This essay was the first of that long series of brilliant contributions to the Whig Quarterly, which earned for that periodical its chief reputation. Meanwhile politics was putting forth a rival claim for a hold on Macaulay's talents. In 1830 he entered Parliament ; and for four years took an active part in the stirring scenes of the Reform Bill. He was a Liberal in politics, and his vehement oratory and great powers of work were of much service to his party at this critical period of Parliamentary history. In 1832 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Control, which represented the Crown in its relation to the East India Company ; and two years afterwards he was nominated a member of the Supreme Council of India. The next four years Macaulay spent in Calcutta. To this residence in India, and the impress it made upon the writer's mind, we doubtless owe two of the most brilliant essays in the language.

Returning to England in 1839, Macaulay again entered Parliament, and for a number of years had a seat in the Cabinet. Laborious as were his Ministerial duties, he yet found time to pursue with unflagging ardour his literary work. The essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings are the product of this period, as are those admirable specimens of "rhymed rhetoric," the *Lays of Ancient Rome*. But alternate legislating and electioneering were not favourable to literary composition ; and Macaulay was ambitious to do more than write essays and compose verse. He had long cherished the idea of writing a History of England ; and, fortunately for literature, Parliamentary defeats and loss of office gave him the leisure, though now late in the day, to put his wish into effect. From now to the close of his life, with a brief interruption incident to his temporary return to politics, Macaulay threw his whole heart into the writing of his History. Few Englishmen at the time were so deeply versed as he in the country's annals ; and none had hitherto hit the idea of making history popular, or were able to treat it with such picturesque effect. Alas ! he lived to see but four volumes published ; the fifth, a fragment, appeared posthumously, for, at the close of 1859, the brain that had woven the wonderful fabric had ceased its function. Its author died Baron Macaulay ; and on the 9th of January, 1860, his remains were interred with impressive pomp in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey.

The social aspects of Macaulay's life present some very loveable traits. His attachment to his sister, Lady Trevelyan, and the fond indulgence of a bachelor-uncle to her children, are prominent features in his biography and pleasingly attest his affectionate disposition and warmth of heart. The "Life and Letters," by his nephew, Mr. Trevelyan, is one of the most admirable biographies in the language, and should be read by all admirers of the great historian, orator, and essayist.

Macaulay is the most pictorial prose-writer in English literature. His power of graphic narration has rarely been equalled and never surpassed. With wide and accurate knowledge, and the faculty of readily bringing it to his aid, he has enriched the literature of history and biography with scenes and studies that bid fair to have perennial life. He was a typical Englishman ; and his writings, both historical and literary, deal with subjects that interest the national mind and enlist the sympathies of the national heart. His power of reproducing the past is great ; and the impression he leaves on the mind of the reader is vivid and lasting. His work always tells, for it is hearty and genuine. Nor is it ever timidly put forth, but invariably with confidence and conviction. In

not a few instances this leads him into error, and gives a colour to his statements that does injustice to facts. At times one has to stand off from his work to get its proper focus, and to see his facts out of the glare of his rhetoric. But he has painted many striking pictures, and imbued with fresh life many forgotten incidents and memorable figures of the past.

The characteristics of Macaulay's style are strength and clearness. It is said that he never wrote but one obscure sentence in his life. With equal truth it may be affirmed that he never penned a weak one. In reading Macaulay one often sighs, indeed, for an hour of langour, and for a passage of quiet repose. But there is as little of repose as there is of emotion. The tenderness that was in his nature he never imparts to his books. We have the firm hand of the robust rhetorician, but never the soft touch of the idealist or the poet. Macaulay has no acute sensibilities ; and hence in his writings there is little of humour and less of pathos. Yet every page is instinct with life, bright with colour, and affluent of illustration. From every nook of literature he brings something to enrich his narrative and ornament his work. Not only are his facts inexhaustible, but inexhaustible also are the resources of his art. On canvas there may be daubs of colour, but the man and the scene he sets out to paint he always succeeds in making live before one. The process may be mechanical and the details too minute, but the result nevertheless is art.

The essay on Warren Hastings exemplifies both the merits and the defects of Macaulay as a writer. Though somewhat overloaded with ornament, the narrative is clear-cut, forcible and brilliant. It displays vast and varied knowledge, and is enriched with apt, if profuse, illustration. But Macaulay rarely brings out the deeper significance of events, and seldom looks into the heart for the motive of his actors. Not only is there an absence of the analytic habit, there is often a narrowness of view, and not infrequently poverty of thought. He is seldom original, and never profound. To the ordinary reader this is concealed by an animated style, and by a florid and abundant rhetoric.

Macaulay's fondness for antithetical writing often detracts from his sense of justice, and leads him unfairly to praise one man by defaming another. In one other respect his work is defective : as the artists say, his pictures want atmosphere ; he gets too near to the canvas, and, consequently, there is a lack of perspective. But despite these defects Macaulay is a great and attractive writer. He is always in earnest, and his industry makes his work thorough, if not at all times accurate. The national history may yet be written more scientifically, but never with a sturdier patriotism or with more enthusiasm and fire.

INDIA BEFORE THE TIME OF WARREN HASTINGS.

British settlement in India practically dates from the year 1600, when the East India Company was founded. A hundred years earlier the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, actuated by the spirit of enterprise of the time, were all eager to reach the Indies, and to bring home some of its fabled wealth. During the whole of the 16th century the Portuguese had the monopoly of trade in the East. When the crowns of Portugal and Spain were for a time united the national interests of Portugal were merged in Spanish conquest in the West, and her Asiatic trade passed into the hands of the English and the Dutch. Competition between the two latter Powers for the commerce of India was in the 17th century keen and on both sides aggressive. But in 1758 the tide turned in favour of Britain, when Clive, at Chinsurah, forced the Dutch to capitulate. Sixty years later Dutch trade on the mainland of India received its death blow, when England, during the great French wars, from 1793 to 1811, won all the colonies of Holland.

But England had other rivals besides the Portuguese and the Dutch in the trade of the Orient. France had early laid covetous eyes on the wealth of the Indies, and possessed a Trading Company in the East under charter of the French Crown. There were also various English companies formed for trading purposes in India and the Indian Archipelago. In 1709 the two chief companies were amalgamated, and were henceforth known as the "East India Company." At successive periods this great corporation obtained a renewal of its charter, though its powers were more or less modified as time went on, until the year 1858, when the Company and its affairs were transferred to the British Crown. On some of the islands of the Indian Archipelago the Company established factories, or houses of trade, which ere long brought its servants into collision with the Portuguese and the Dutch. In 1623 occurred the massacre by the Dutch at Amboyna, which drove the English from the Spice Islands to the mainland of India. The Company soon obtained a footing on the Coromandel coast, where it erected Fort St. George, its first territorial possession, and the nucleus of the later city of Madras. Settlements were ere long effected at Bombay, at Fort William (Calcutta), at Moorshedabad, once the capital of Bengal, and at various points on the Hooghly, a navigable branch of the Ganges. The French also made good their foothold in the country, establishing themselves at Chandernagore, just above Calcutta, and at Pondicherry, a hundred miles south of Madras.

At first the English East India Company pursued its trade by permission of the native princes, whose rights it for a time respected, though the cupidity of the Company and its employés were ere long utterly to disregard both political and commercial morality. The rivalry of the trading companies of other nations, particularly the French, soon introduced discord into the country, and with it a factor of no inconsiderable account in the spoliation of India. Its fruit was soon seen in setting the native rulers by the ears, in deposing some, and extorting from others immense sums of money and ere long their territorial possessions. The trading companies were greedy and their servants unscrupulous. Such was the position of affairs in India when, in 1744, war broke out in Europe between England and France. At this time M. Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, was ambitious that the rule of his countrymen should be the dominant one in India. The English were the special objects of the Governor's designs ; and in 1746 Madras surrendered to a French squadron which was then cruising on the coast. In 1748 it was however restored to Britain.

Meanwhile the whole of Southern India, on the fall of the Mogul power at Delhi, had become practically independent ; and in the Deccan the Nizam-ul-Mulk was founding at Hyderabad a hereditary dynasty. The Carnatic, the lowland district lying between the central plateau and the Eastern Sea, was governed by a deputy of the Nizam, known as the Nawab of Arcot. To the south lay Mysore, Tanjore, and Trichinopoli, which were all seats of independent Hindoo power. On the death, in 1748, of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the "War of Succession" to the throne of the Deccan, referred to in Macaulay's Essay, began to rage. The English supported the claim of Nasir Jung, a son of the late ruler ; while it suited the purpose of the French Governor, Dupleix, to maintain the cause first of one grandson and then of another. In like manner, to the subordinate sovereignty of Arcot, the French and English advanced the interests of rival claimants. The former upheld the pretensions of Chunder Sahib, while the latter countenanced those of Mahommed Ali. To end the trouble, which was a source of danger to Madras, and to cripple the influence of France in the Carnatic, the English directed Clive, who had come to India in 1743, to proceed with a small but brave force to seize Arcot. Clive's capture and subsequent defence of the place was the first of his great military achievements. From that period French power in the East began to decline ; and its overthrow occurred nine years later, when Sir Eyre Coote won the victory of Wandewash, and in the following year starved Pondicherry into a surrender.

The scene now shifts to Bengal, and to the advent of Warren Hastings. In 1740 the hereditary succession to the throne of the Province had been broken by a usurper, who died in 1756. His grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a hot-headed youth of eighteen, became Nawab of Bengal. The Court was at Moorshedabad, contiguous to Cossimbazar and the European factories on the Hooghly. Down the river, at Calcutta, there was by this time a large settlement of English. Suddenly the city was seized by a panic on the appearance at its gates of an army of the Nawab. On the pretext of capturing a relative, who had escaped from his vengeance, Surajah Dowlah had marched upon and invested Calcutta with his forces. Most of the English fled down the river in their ships ; though about 150 of them were captured and flung for the night into the military jail at Fort William. Only 23 emerged on the morrow from the horrors of the "Black Hole."

While this tragic occurrence took place Clive was at Madras with the British fleet. On hearing of the calamity he instantly set out for the mouth of the Ganges, and Calcutta was promptly recovered. The Nawab fortunately consented to a peace and made ample compensation for British losses. But Clive soon found the opportunity to settle accounts more satisfactorily with Surajah Dowlah. War having again broken out between France and England, the hero of Arcot made it the pretext to seize the French settlement on the Hooghly of Chandernagore. This enraged the Nawab ; and in hot haste he took up the cause of the French. Clive, acting upon the policy of the Governor of Pondicherry, put forward a rival claimant for the throne. Resort was had to arms. At Plassey, about 70 miles north of Calcutta, the die was cast ; and Clive with less than a tenth of Dowlah's army met and scattered it to the winds. Placing Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal, Clive dictated his own terms on elevating him to the position, and the East India Company practically became masters of the Province.

Little remains now to be said, for Warren Hastings comes at this period upon the scene, and Macaulay's Essay takes up the thread of the narrative. Plassey was fought on the 23rd of June, 1757 : and in the following year Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors Governor of the Company's settlements in Bengal. The incidents connected with the dethronement of Meer Jaffier, the revolt of Meer Casim, and the reconquest of Bengal, brings the story of British occupation well on in the career of Hastings. These and subsequent stirring events brought out the resources of that famed administrator ; and, with Clive's military genius, make the history of the period a notable one in the annals of India.

SOME NOTES ON THE ESSAY.

Lord Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings is one of his most notable contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, where it appeared in October, 1841. Early in the previous year its writer had contributed to the same periodical his hardly less famous essay on Lord Clive, which should be read in connection with that on Warren Hastings, that the student may be familiar with the military achievements which in part precede, and in part run contemporary with, Hastings' lengthy and brilliant rule in India. The two men who were to become the founders of Britain's greatness in the East, and who, despite the stains on their character, figure grandly in the Anglo-Indian history of the eighteenth century, were, for the space of some seventeen years, actors together in the civil and military administration of India. How their careers for a time interlace will best be seen by reproducing the dates in connection with the lives of both men. Clive was born in 1725 ; he made his first voyage to India in 1743 ; and finally quitted the East in 1767. He died in England by his own hand in 1774. Warren Hastings was Clive's junior by only seven years ; he made his first voyage to India in 1750 ; and, with a visit of four years' duration to England, was for thirty-five years in the East India Company's service, during thirteen of which he had charge of the affairs of the Indian Empire. Returning to England in 1785, he spent there the remainder of a long and chequered life, dying in the year 1818.

Macaulay's personal knowledge of India, and his vast fund of historical and literary research, were, no doubt inducing motives in his taking up the Malcolm and Gleig biographies of these heroes of Indian history as themes for an historical essay and studies of portraiture for the pages of the great Whig Quarterly. Britain's Indian Empire, with its barbaric wealth and glitter, the splendour of its temples, courts and palaces, the pageantry and stately ceremonial by which the native princes were surrounded, together with all the glamour of the East, formed a group of subjects well fitted to attract Macaulay's love of the picturesque and give scope for graphic writing. The achievements of the British arms, the successive conquests over the native tribes, the thrilling stories of peril and daring, the knavery of Indian intrigue, and the counter-diplomacy of the English military chiefs, were further subjects well calculated to enlist the ardour of a patriotic historian and

furnish material for brilliant literary effects. It is just here that the student needs to be on his guard against Macaulay, and to take care that the fascination of his style and the brilliance of his stately sentences do not lead him astray in the estimate he desires to form of the events described in his pages, and falsify his judgment of the chief actors who play their part in the narrative. This is particularly necessary in reading the essay on Warren Hastings, where Macaulay delights in marked contrasts, and glorifies his hero by throwing into the deepest shade those who were either his tools or who opposed him in the questionable methods by which he won success. It is this love for startling antitheses, combined at times with a too pronounced partisanship, that detracts from Macaulay's merits as a portrait painter and historian, however spirited may be his narrative, dazzling his eloquence, and great the wealth of the historical and literary illustration he lavishes upon his work. Few, however, will fail to be captivated by the polish of the language, the vigour and perspicuity of statement, the telling turns of argument, and the succession and rhythmic flow of the glowing periods. Nor, despite what we have said of Macaulay's partisanship, and the artificial graces and noisy brilliance of many of his sentences, will the reader fail to note the essayist's manifest desire to mete out justice to the figures on his canvas, or remain unstirred while he vigorously applies the lash to meanness and deceit. The value he sets upon uprightness of character, straightforwardness of action, purity of living, and all that is noble and unselfish in human nature, is indeed a high one; though at times he sadly qualifies his ideal by an ingenuity of defence and a sophistry of language when dealing with crime that too often reveals the advocate and throws a cloud over the moral sense. But this is at once the weakness and the strength of Macaulay; and our estimate of his work, like our estimate of such a character as Warren Hastings, must not be upon a single trait of the man, but upon the individual as a whole, and upon the completed work he has left behind him.

It is fifty years since Macaulay's Essay was written, and we now see a little more clearly the difficulties of the position in which Warren Hastings was placed. Historical research has meanwhile also brought to light much that hitherto was mere conjecture in regard to the transactions of the period, or are the animadversions of a partisan judgment. India a hundred years ago was deemed more emphatically than it is to-day "a distant, alien, and usurped dominion," and the theory then, and perhaps truthfully held, was that "only the force wielded and the fear inspired by arbitrary rule could maintain it."

“ In the eighteenth century,” says Sir Alfred Lyall in his admirable monograph on Warren Hastings, in the English Men of Action Series, “ the question of governing India from London presented in the highest degree all the difficulties and enigmas inherent in the administration of dependencies that are separated from the sovereign State by distance, by differences of religion, race, climate, and by the strongest possible contrast of social ideas and political traditions.” This the essayist not only saw, but he gave Hastings the benefit of the impression it made upon his mind, in the portraiture he has left us of the great Anglo-Indian Proconsul. Not only does he recognise the fact that when Hastings first came upon the scene English rule in the East was characterised by all kinds of extortion, and that the sordid company, whose servant he was, looked upon India only as a field to poach in ; but he at the same time places the Governor-General in the midst of his difficult and entangling surroundings, having, figuratively, to make bricks without straw, and administer the affairs of a great trust, fighting, for the most part, with his back to the wall, with a Council Board which, so far from helping him, was a constant perplexity and menace. Macaulay, however, is not careful to give Hastings the full benefit of this view of the case when he comes to deal with the impeachment and the over-charged rhetoric of the impassioned orators for the prosecution. The national inquisition gives him the opportunity, which he evidently coveted, for indulging in picturesque writing, in unison, as he thought, with the tragic declamation of Burke, Fox, and Sheridan ; though a soberer judgment to-day deems the whole proceedings of the trial vexatious, and the language of the prosecution what Pitt at the time censured it for being—“ violent and unfair.” A great modern legal authority speaks of the impeachment as “ a blot on the judicial history of the country.” “ It is monstrous,” writes Sir James Stephen, in his *History of Criminal Law*, “ that a man should be tortured at irregular intervals for seven years in order that a singularly incompetent tribunal might be addressed before an excited audience by Burke and Sheridan, in language far removed from the calmness with which an advocate for the prosecution ought to address a criminal court.” More open still to criticism is the Essay when its author comes to consider the relations between Hastings and some of the personages with whom he was in alliance.

Towards Sir Elijah Impey, Macaulay is now known to have been grossly unfair. He deems him a mere tool of the Governor-General, and in the Essay he has loaded him with reproach and obloquy. In treating of the alleged compact with Hastings, by which Impey, as

he affirms, became rich and infamous, the historian steeps his pen in gall and writes of the Chief Justice as if he were the greatest felon unhung. Nor is he a whit more lenient when he comes to deal with the plundering of the Begums of Oude, for he again charges the Chief Justice with crimes that stain the robes of his office “by the peculiar rankness of their infamy.” The extravagant and partisan judgment of the brilliant essayist is only equalled by Burke’s biting invective when he impeached Hastings at the Bar of the House of Commons. There the impassioned orator flung at the incriminated Governor-General every epithet of contumely and scorn. It is now, however, very certain that many counts in the indictment of both Hastings and Impey were cruelly unjust, as well as malignantly aspersive. The alleged compact between them for what was termed the judicial murder of Nuncomar had really no existence ; and most of the charges brought against them by their sleepless enemy, Sir Philip Francis, are now believed to be virulently untrue. The whole Nuncomar case has recently been probed to the bottom, and the exoneration of the Governor-General and the Chief Justice is deemed both explicit and complete. Sir James Fitz-james Stephens has made the most searching and exhaustive inquiry into the matter, and has examined every document and fact relating to it. His conviction is that Nuncomar’s trial was perfectly fair, and that there was no sort of conspiracy or understanding between Hastings and the Chief Justice to get rid of the Bengalee ; nor, as he believes, had Hastings anything whatever to do with the prosecution. Sir James makes this further statement exonerating the Chief Justice :—“I have read everything,” he says, “I could find throwing light on Impey’s character, and it appears to me that he was neither much blacker nor much whiter, in whole or in part, than his neighbours. I have read through all his letters and private papers, and I can find in them no trace of corruption. . . . When his conduct in the different matters objected to is fully examined I think it will appear that, if the whole of his conduct is not fully justified, he at least is to be honourably acquitted of the tremendous charges which Macaulay has brought against him.”

Thus is conclusively disposed of, we venture to think, not only the odious imputation on Impey as a judge, but the dishonour cast on Hastings by the charge of complicity with the Chief Justice, in taking foul means to get rid of an influential native dignitary who was obnoxious to both. Macaulay’s indictment in the case would seem to fall completely to the ground, and a controversy is thus set at rest which has raged intermittently for close upon a hundred years. In

regard to other matters in Hastings' career there was, no doubt, cause for impeachment ; but it must now, we think, be said that the mode and manner of it were inconsistent with fair play and with proper consideration for the resplendent services of the whilom Master of all India. Many of Hastings' acts no one would venture to defend ; but though despotic and often unscrupulous, he was neither a political gamester nor a brigand. Whatever he was, Macaulay does not fail, on the whole, to do him justice. His administration reduced chaos to order, gave some measure of security to life and property, widened the area of British jurisdiction, and implanted in the breasts of a restive people the fear of English prowess, and in the hearts of knaves a wholesome dread of the English name.

NOTES ON ENGLISH COMPOSITION.

How the writing of English can best be acquired is a question not easily answered. Text-books and intelligent training will do something ; but practice and the study of good models will, admittedly, do more. The first step is to train the pupil to think. If at first, which is likely to be the case, the pupil cannot use his reflective powers so as to provide himself with material for a theme in Composition, he may with advantage be referred to some pregnant passage occurring in the works of a good writer. He should be asked to gather the substance of the writer's argument in the passage, and to translate it into his own words. The paraphrase he may then commit to paper. Varied practice of this sort, with the corrections and counsel of a good teacher, will do more to impart facility in writing than any number of rules, or a lengthy course of grammatical exposition, however good. In English Composition, as in other branches of education, much more may be attained by oral than by text-book teaching. There are a few hints, however, that may be useful to the pupil, which we here venture to set forth, with the remark that, in this as in other studies, little can be done without the pupil's exercise of his own mental powers, or without taste in the selection and assiduity, as we have said, in the reading of good literary models.

Before beginning a practical course of English Composition, the teacher will do well to impress upon the pupil's mind the following requisites to success in the writing of English, mastery of which, in his exercises and practice, the learner should endeavour to gain : (1) Familiarity with the subject to be written about ; (2) Some notion of method in the arrangement of topics, and natural sequence of ideas in treating of them ; (3) A fair English vocabulary (the simpler the better) ; (4) An accurate knowledge of the meanings of words and phrases ; (5) Some degree of taste and sense of propriety in the language used ; (6) Such an acquaintance with the rules of grammar as will keep one from violating syntax ; and (7) "A ready perception of the beauties of language and of those things that tend to make it most effective for its purpose."

With these general ideas impressed upon the mind of the pupil, and with preliminary practice in sentence-building, including exercises in variations of its structure, phraseology, and sequence, he may go on to

the composition of the paragraph, and to the analysis of its properties—unity, consecutiveness, and variety. From these he may proceed to exercises on theme writing, and to lessons on the qualities of style, particularly in its essentials of perspicuity and strength. In the exercises on the analysis of style the utmost care should be taken to make criticism on the mere mechanism of the language subordinate to the all-important consideration of the thought and aim of the writer, which form the essence of every literary work. While a student of literature, it should not be forgotten that the pupil is also a student of the world ; that he is being prepared to enter upon a life of thought and action for himself ; and that the pedantry which makes so much of school work in the grammatical construction of the language is a poor substitute, as a means of training, for those impressive lessons, both of principle and sentiment, which happily abound in English literature, and are its most distinguished characteristics. Nor should it be forgotten that over-attention to the minutiae of criticism prevents the pupil from forming just or adequate conceptions of an author's work, and, in the case of a masterpiece of literature, limits his vision of its large and general aspects.

In proceeding to theme-writing, the teacher's care, after he has seen to the grammatical purity of the pupil's compositions, should be chiefly directed to the supervision of their rhetorical qualities. A heavy hand will here be needed, as the tendency of imaginative youth is to run riot among the flowers of the language. The first requisites he should exact are Simplicity and Clearness ; after that may come Strength. Perhaps no better rules can be given, as directions to the pupil in attaining these requisites, than the old and simple ones of Lindley Murray, which we fear are, in these modern days, not so familiar as they ought to be, and hence may here be quoted :

1. "Avoid," says Lindley Murray, "all such words and phrases as are not adapted to the ideas you mean to communicate, or which are less significant than others, of those ideas."
2. During the course of the sentence the scene should be changed as little as possible, *i.e.* [do not let the mind be hurried by sudden transitions from person to person, or from subject to subject.]
3. Never crowd into one sentence things which have so little connection that they could bear to be divided into two or three sentences ; and keep clear of all unnecessary parentheses.
4. For promoting the strength of a sentence, prune it of all redundant words and members ; much force is added to a sentence by brevity.
5. Attend, particularly to the use of copulatives, relatives, and all the particles employed for transition and connection.

6. Dispose of the capital word, or words, so that they may make the greatest impression ; and, when the subject admits of it, attend to the climax of a sentence.

7. A weaker assertion or proposition should never come after a stronger ; when a sentence consists of two members, the longer should generally be the concluding one.

8. Avoid concluding a sentence with an adverb, a preposition, or any inconsiderable word ; and be careful not to misplace an adverb.

[There is no word in the English language, says a modern authority in grammar, which is so frequently misplaced as *only*. Hence, it is important to lay down the rule with regard to it : "Only" limits the word or words immediately following it: *Alone*, limits the word or words immediately preceding it.]

9. In the members of a sentence, where two things are compared or contrasted with one another, whether either a resemblance or an opposition is intended to be expressed, some resemblance in the language and construction should be preserved. When the things themselves correspond to each other, we naturally expect to find a similar correspondence in the words.

10. Attend to the harmony and easy flow of the words and members.

11. The same word should not be repeated too often in the same sentence or paragraph, though the sense should not be sacrificed to avoid repetition.

12. Long and short sentences should be agreeably interspersed in a paragraph : the ear tires of a number of sentences of similar construction following each other with monotonous regularity.

In setting themes for composition the teacher will do well at first to avoid subjects that make unusual demands upon the pupil's powers of reflection, unless they are familiar to him. Narrative composition, on some incident or story ; on some familiar object or feature of local interest ; or on some character in, or event of, history ; will be found much more suitable. At first a skeleton, or scheme of arrangement in the topics, should be supplied, such as the following :

In Biography : 1, Place and circumstances of birth ; 2, Youth and education ; 3, Occupation of life, and circumstances determining that occupation ; 4, Progress in life-work ; 5, Death and attendant circumstances ; and 6, Reflections on the character, and lessons drawn from the life, passed under review.

In History : 1, The event itself ; 2, Cause or occasion of it ; 3, The time and place ; 4, The manner of its happening and attendant circumstances ; and 5, The result : what it produced or effected.

In the essay on Warren Hastings, in the following pages, abundant material will be found for composition themes, in both historical and biographical narration. The more prominent of these themes will be found in the headings of the chapters. As an exercise to the pupil, and that it may tend to familiarise him with the work he may be called upon to do, in writing compositions on the essay, the following model of a paragraph, enlarged from an outline of the life of Lord Clive, is herewith added. The model is taken from Dalgleish's "English Composition" (Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd), a work that may be commended to the teacher. The space taken up with the example is more

readily given, as the incidents of the sketch will be of interest to the student who proceeds to the study of the essay on Warren Hastings.

EXAMPLE.—LORD CLIVE.

1. *Outline.*

- 1.—*Description*: The founder of the British Empire in India.
- 2.—*Narrative*: Born at Styche (Shropshire), 1725—idle and mischievous at school—goes to Madras—clerk in the E. I. Company—disgusted with the monotony of office life—welcomes the call to military service—English influence in India very low—great success of Clive's exploits—Arcot, 1751—Plassey, 1757—great reputation—returns to England, 1760—made an Irish peer—affairs go wrong in his absence—sent out to put them right, 1764—restores perfect order in eighteen months—returns to England, 1767—his conduct and administration assailed, 1773—acquitted—commits suicide, 1774.
- 3.—*Character*: Great warrior and able statesman—resolute and uncompromising—often unscrupulous—always successful. The effects of his labours.

2. *Paragraph.*

“ Robert, Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, the founder of the British Empire in India, was born at Styche, in Shropshire, in 1725. At school, he showed greater aptitude for mischief and acts of recklessness than for learning ; and it was a relief to his parents to get him safely shipped off to India in 1744. He entered the civil service of the Company at Madras, at a time when its prosperity had sunk to a very low ebb ; and the monotony of his sedentary life so depressed him, that he oftener than once attempted to commit suicide. When French encroachment and intrigue rendered it necessary to take measures to save English influence from total extinction, Clive gladly welcomed the call to active service. His change of profession marks an epoch in the history of India. From the day when he assumed the sword, English interests began sensibly to revive. His first great exploit was the capture and defence of Arcot, with only 500 men, 300 of whom were natives. His crowning triumph was the victory of Plassey, which laid Bengal at the feet of the English. His own reputation was now firmly established, and his name became everywhere a tower of strength. On his return to England in 1760, he received the thanks of the Company, and an Irish peerage from Government. But affairs went wrong in his absence, and in 1764, the Company sent him out again to set them right. This, by his vigorous measures, he very soon succeeded in doing. In the course of eighteen months, perfect order was restored ; and on his final return to England, in 1767, he was received with the distinction which his great services deserved. But his reforms had given offence to many of those who had profited by the former laxity of affairs ; and it is to be regretted that not a few of his acts were of so questionable a character as to give his enemies a handle against him. In 1773, his administration was made the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry. The decision was in his favour ; but he was dissatisfied with the terms of the acquittal ; and the mere fact of his having been put upon his trial affected him so deeply, that he sought relief in suicide, November 22nd, 1774. Clive was one of the greatest warrior-statesmen of whom England can boast. Bold, resolute, and rapid as a soldier, he was equally calm, judicious, and comprehensive as an administrator. It cannot be denied that he was often unscrupulous in opposing cunning with cunning ; but he was not cruel ; he was not selfish ; and his faults have been condoned by the success of his career, and by the splendid services he rendered to his country.”

The “Art of Authorship,” and the methods of professional work among literary men, have lately been the theme of a compilation by a young journalist, from whose volume the editors extract the following useful hints :—

“ The main thing in writing,” says Professor Blackie, “ is to have distinct and clear and well-marshalled ideas, and then to express them simply and without affectation. This forms what we may call the bones of a good style. Then you must study to give colour by apt images and warmth by natural passion and earnestness. The music of words and the cadence of sentences is a matter which depends on the ear. Above all things monotony in the form of the sentences is to be shunned ; variety means wealth and always pleases. Condensation also ought to be particularly studied, and a loose, rambling, ill-compacted form of sentence ought to be avoided.”

“ To try to be striking new, fine, is all faulty,” says D. C. Murray, the novelist. “ Try to see clearly, to speak justly, and you are on the road to a style. ‘ Idiom is the cream of language.’ Use common forms for thoughts that have often been expressed. Avoid foreign phrases and scraps of the dead languages. There is nothing which can be said at all which cannot be said in English. Be simple and unpretentious. If you get all your goods into the shop window, you have a poor establishment. Say the thing you see as you see it, and bend the whole power of your mind upon it until you see it well. Avoid newspaper English like a pest. Study the Bible, Bunyan, Defoe, and mark their simplicity, their straightforwardness, their accuracy in the choice of words. Few things are so wonderful as language ; few things better worth study.”

“ For precepts of style,” says Goldwin Smith, “ you must go to the masters of style, and for lessons in the art of Composition you must go to artists. My only rule is to know what I mean to say, to say it, and have done with it. Clearness and conciseness are within the reach of all of us, though grandeur, beauty, and piquancy are not.”

Westland Marston, the dramatist, says, “ As to composition, the chief rules I have laid down for myself are to avoid superfluous expressions, to choose epithets carefully and use them sparingly, and to frame sentences neither so long as to be cumbersome, nor so short as to destroy continuity.”

J. H. Shorthouse, the author of “ John Inglesant,” remarks that “ in the way of general advice, I can only suggest the taking of infinite pains, and the avoiding, like the plague, any attempts at affectation, or

the use of vulgar, colloquial, penny-a-liner, or what are supposed to be humorous, phrases. I would allow very great latitude in the use of words. Your instinct and taste must be your guide in this. But, above everything, strive to form every sentence so as to express your meaning in the simplest way, and in accordance with the easiest, plainest rules of English Grammar. I am not afraid of a picturesque style, or what is called fine writing, provided you get both grammar and sense."

Another writer observes, that "one must begin at the bottom of the ladder" in acquiring the art of style and of a good prose composition. The first step in this ladder of style is, if one may so call it, the rung of lucidity. The French have a proverb, 'what is obscure is bad French.' I wish we had a corresponding one. But whether we possess the maxim or not, no good English writer, from Swift to De Quincey, has written English hard to be understood. Then, still mounting the ladder, one might, to parody Mr. Ruskin, place the rung of brevity next, and after that the rung of rhythm, and the rungs of beauty, of force, of grace, and of wit, till presently we should reach a height where only genius can tread, and where humbler folk would do wisely not to climb."

DICTION.

DICTION treats of the selection and the right use of words. This includes :—

1. PURITY of Diction, which requires the word made use of to be—
 - (1) REPUTABLE, that is, used by the best writers and speakers.
 - (2) RECENT, used at the present time.
 - (3) NATIONAL, used by the whole people.

The violation of any of these requirements is called a BARBARISM.

The chief sources of Barbarisms are—

- (1) The unnecessary use of foreign words.
- (2) The use of obsolete words. Ex. : *Ycleped* for called.
- (3) New words not sanctioned by good usage. Ex. : *Crank* for an eccentric person.
- (4) The unnecessary use of technical words.
- (5) Incorrectly formed words, or Hybrids. Ex. : *Singist*.
- (6) Local or provincial words. Ex. : *Grit*.
- (7) Slang.

2. **PROPRIETY** of Diction consists in choosing words that *properly* express the intended meaning. The violation of this is called an **IMPROPRIETY**. The chief sources of improprieties are—

- (1) Neglect to observe the proper sequence of particles.
- (2) Neglect to distinguish synonyms.
- (3) Carelessness as to the real meaning of words.

The best way to attain propriety of diction is to observe and imitate the usage of the best writers and speakers of the present time.

3. **PRECISION** of Diction consists in choosing from synonymous terms those which best express the ideas to be conveyed.

THE SENTENCE.

1. **THE PERIODIC SENTENCE** is one in which the sense is held in suspense until the end is reached. The effects of the periodic sentence are—

- (1) To hold the attention until the end of the sentence.
- (2) To secure the right placing of qualifying words and phrases.
- (3) To secure the unity of the sentence.
- (4) To counteract the tendency of our language to use the loose sentence by interspersing the periodic sentence on all suitable occasions.

2. **THE LOOSE SENTENCE** is one in which the ideas are expressed in the order in which they occur to the mind. Its characteristics are—

- (1) That the predicate follows the subject.
- (2) That qualifying adjuncts follow what they qualify.
- (3) That the parts may be separated without destroying the sense. It is the natural structure of the sentence in English.

Macaulay's sentences frequently combine both the loose and the periodic.

3. **THE BALANCED SENTENCE** is made up of two clauses which are similar in form and often contrasted in meaning. Some of the effects of the balanced sentence are—

- (1) *An aid to memory.* The repetition impresses the mind. When the part common to the several statements is learnt, the attention is then directed to the points of difference.

(2) *An agreeable surprise.* Sameness of form in difference of matter gives a pleasurable impression, or, when a new and distinct meaning can be conveyed in nearly the same words, a feeling of surprise is all the greater.

(3) *Antithesis, or Contrast.*

[As Macaulay is fond of antithesis, that is, the explicit contrasting of things already opposed in meaning, an example from the essay is here given in illustration of its use: *Ex.* "A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against demons."]

4. SENTENCES may be classified also into *short* and *long*.

(1) The effect of the *short sentence* is to give animation to the style, but when carried to excess it becomes tiresome, and destroys the melody of the composition. It is, however, more easily understood.

(2) The effect of the *long sentence* is to aid in amplifying an idea; it also gives an opportunity for climax. It requires closer attention, though it is not so easily understood as the short sentence.

(3) Do not use either the short or the long sentence to excess. They should be used to relieve one another.

The most important qualities of a good sentence are—

1. **CLEARNESS OF MEANING.** The *choice* and *arrangement* of words should be such that the meaning cannot be misunderstood. All modifiers, whether words, phrases or clauses, should be placed as near as possible to the word or words which they limit.
2. **UNITY OF THOUGHT.** The parts of a sentence should be arranged so that unity of thought is maintained as far as possible.
3. **STRENGTH OF EXPRESSION.** The sentence should be so constructed that the thought which it contains shall be expressed with all possible force.

(1) All words that do not add anything to the meaning should be struck from the sentence.

The violations of brevity are—

- (a) *Tautology*, or the repetition of the same idea in different words.
- (b) *Pleonasm* or *Redundancy*, that is, the use of words not necessary to express the sense.
- (c) *Verbosity*, or a diffuse mode of expression.

- (2) The strength is increased by a careful use of the connectives.
- (3) Contrasted members of a sentence should be similar in construction.
- (4) The sentence should end, if possible, with a forcible word.
- (5) Effective figures of speech.

These may be classified as follows :—

I. FIGURES OF COMPARISON.

- (a) In objects *closely* resembling each other.
 - (a) *Metaphor*, an implied comparison.
 - (b) *Simile*, a comparison stated at length.
- (b) In objects *remotely* resembling each other
 - (a) *Allegory*, a sustained comparison.
 - (b) *Personification*, the comparison of *inanimate* with *animate* objects.

II. FIGURES OF SUBSTITUTION.

- (a) *Metonymy*, of an accompaniment for the thing it accompanies.
- (b) *Synecdoche*, of a *part* for the *whole*, or *vice versa*.

III. FIGURES THAT PRESENT THE UNEXPECTED.

- (a) *Antithesis*, the explicit contrasting of things already opposed in meaning.
- (b) *Epigram*, the conflict or contradiction between the form of the language and the meaning really conveyed.
- (c) *Irony*, the saying of what is not meant in order to say more forcibly and clearly what is intended.
- (d) *Hyperbole*, a self-evident exaggeration.
- (e) *Euphemism*, the softening of a harsh or indelicate expression.

IV. FIGURES OF THOUGHT.

- (a) *Interrogation*, affirmation or denial, strengthened by being thrown into the form of a question.
- (b) *Exclamation*, a mode of expression evoked by sudden and intense emotion.
- (c) *Apostrophe*, an address to an absent or imaginary auditor, as if he were present.

4. MELODY OF SOUND. This is best secured by—

- (1) Avoiding harsh-sounding effects. The vowels and consonants should blend.

- (2) The alternation of long and short, emphatic and unemphatic, syllables.
- (3) The observance of the principle of variety.
- (4) The words should be so arranged as to give an agreeable cadence at the close of a sentence.
- (5) The Rhythm : The words should be so arranged that the accent shall come at intervals convenient for the reader or speaker.

THE PARAGRAPH.

A PARAGRAPH is the division of discourse next above the sentence. It is a collection of sentences with unity of purpose ; it deals with and exhausts a distinct topic. There is, however, a greater break between one paragraph and another than between the sentences that compose a paragraph.

The laws which govern the construction of the paragraph are :—

- I. *The Law relating to the Theme.* The opening sentence, unless obviously introductory, should indicate the subject of the paragraph.
- II. *The Law of Explicit Reference.* The bearing of each sentence upon what precedes should be clear and unmistakable. This is attained by—
 - (1) The use of suitable connectives—conjunctions, adverbs, pronouns, or connecting phrases.
 - (2) Relation of the sentence without expressing the connecting words, their absence having a distinct meaning. Connectives are unnecessary—
 - (a) When a sentence iterates, or explains, what goes before.
 - (b) Cumulative statements given in succession are presumed to have a common bearing.
 - (c) In the statement of a consequence.
- III. *The Law of Parallel Construction.* When several sentences iterate, or illustrate, the same idea they should be constructed as far as possible alike.
- IV. *The Law of Continuity.* The sentences should be consecutive, or free from *dislocations* ; the several thoughts should follow each other in their natural order.

V. *The Law of Unity.* Every statement in the paragraph should be subservient to the principal affirmation contained in the topic sentence. This law forbids digressions and irrelevant matter.

VI. *The Law of Proportion.* A due proportion should be maintained between the principal and subordinate statements. Everything should have space and prominence according to its importance. Other devices for giving prominence may be used—

- (a) The employment of numerals.
- (b) Difference in type.
- (c) Matter of lesser importance may be relegated to footnotes.

CHIEF KINDS OF PARAGRAPH.

1. *The Propositional Paragraph*, in which the subject is expressed in the form of a definite assertion, and then developed by proof, illustration, or repetition. This is the common type, and it is constructed on the most regular plan; it is a united whole in itself.
2. *The Amplifying Paragraph*, or one that particularizes or amplifies some statement previously made. The distinctive feature of this kind of paragraph is that the subject is not definitely expressed, but has to be gathered from the general bearing of the whole.
3. *The Preliminary Paragraph*, or one that gives the general theme of a chapter, or essay; or lays out the plan of succeeding paragraphs.
4. *The Transitional Paragraph*, or one that is introduced between the principal divisions of a chapter, to mark the end of one line of thought and the beginning of another.

KINDS OF COMPOSITION.

1. **DESCRIPTIVE.**—The delineation of the characteristics of any object. It should follow the succession of aspects as they appear to the spectator surveying the whole.
2. **NARRATIVE**, or a series of events or a succession of views. The scene should not be shifted oftener, or to a greater extent, than is necessary, and the introduction or disappearance of an important agent should be fully accounted for. The narrative should follow the order of events, and the details of events should be relieved and assisted by summaries.

This process is called abridging, abstracting, or *précis* writing.

3. **EXPOSITORY.**—The mode of handling applicable to knowledge, or to information pertaining to the *Sciences*. The methods of expounding a general principle or proposition are—
 - (a) By *Iteration*, or repeating the statements in different words. This is a means of impressing it.
 - (b) By *Obverse Iteration*, or the denial of the contrary.
 - (c) By *Examples* or *Particular instances*.
 - (d) By *Illustration* as distinguished from *Example*.
 - (e) By *Proof* of the Principle.
 - (1) *Inductive*, or proof from facts.
 - (2) *Deductive*, or the application of a more general law to a proof.
 - (f) Inferences, deductions, corollaries, consequences, may be drawn from principle to aid the exposition.
4. **PERSUASION or ORATORY** is the influencing of men's minds, conduct and beliefs, by spoken or written address.
5. **POETRY** is composition written to produce pleasure by means of elevated or impassioned thought or feeling, conveyed in a special artistic form. It differs from prose—
 - (1) In possessing a greater variety of *figurative* expressions.
 - (2) In an unusual diction ; the following are the chief peculiarities of the language of poetry :—
 - (a) It is archaic, and non-colloquial.
 - (b) It prefers images to the mere enumeration of facts.
 - (c) It avoids general terms.
 - (d) It uses epithets instead of the names of things.
 - (e) It is opposed to lengthiness, and is euphonious.
 - (3) The chief varieties are Epic, Lyric, Dramatic, Didactic and Satiric.

WARREN HASTINGS.*

CHAPTER I.

HASTINGS' ANCESTRY AND SCHOOL LIFE.

We are inclined to think that we shall best meet the wishes of our readers if, instead of minutely examining this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr. Hastings. Our feeling towards him is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787 ; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive him in 1813. He had great qualities, and he rendered great services to the State. But to represent him as a man of stainless virtue is to make him ridiculous ; and from regard for his memory, if from no other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride that the splendour of his fame would bear many spots. He would have wished posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavourable likeness, rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor anybody else. "Paint me as I am," said Oliver Cromwell while sitting to young Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles I will not pay you a shilling." Even in such a trifle the great protector shewed both his good-sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish all that was characteristic in his countenance to be lost, in the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth blooming cheeks of the curl-pated minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all the blemishes which had been put on it by time, by war, by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse ; but with valour, policy, authority, and public care written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

* Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Bengal. Compiled from Original Papers, by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A., 3 vols., 8vo. London : 1841.

Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till about two hundred years ago it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family ; but it could no longer be kept up, and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value ; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son Pynaston, an idle, worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the sixth of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry ; nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics

with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster School, then flourishing under the care of Dr. Nichols. Vinny Bourne, as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done anything very wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence of

childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.

Hastings had another associate at Westminster of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention, Elijah Impey. We know little about their school-days. But, we think, we may safely venture to guess that whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty he hired Impey, with a tart or a ball, to act as fag in the worst part of the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster School, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy to study arithmetic and bookkeeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST DUTIES IN INDIA—1750-1764.

He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William was then purely a commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English Company, against their will, into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic ; and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal, the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with ledgers and bills of lading.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogley, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa and Bahar. At Moorshedabad were the Court, the harem and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point the Company had established a small factory, subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta ; the governor and the commandant fled ; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob, and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the Court. He

thus became a diplomatic agent and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason, which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress, and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design ; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive appeared in the Hoogley. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the Forces, who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks.

During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the Court of the new prince as agent for the company.

He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a Member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, was at the head of a new and anomalous empire. On one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker was an undertaking which taxed to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint ; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect, indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of

sheep against wolves, of men against demons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found. But at first English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at which they became our subjects and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time little is known ; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He could not protect the natives ; all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them, and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor ; and it is equally certain that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed ; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected, a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light, but it entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is, that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions ; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled statesman ; but still he was a statesman, and not a free-booter.

CHAPTER III.

VISITS ENGLAND AND RETURNS TO INDIA.

In 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India; but high usury and bad security generally go together, and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

He remained four years in England. Of his life at that time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour that, in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money-changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education of an English gentleman; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from the munificence of the Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafix and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression of the talents and attainments of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England, and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters the Directors for employment. They

acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention that, although forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the *Duke of Grafton*, and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.

Among the passengers in the *Duke of Grafton* was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a Baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait-painter, in the hope of picking up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The Baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman, who, born under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a Queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the highest degree engaging. She despised her husband heartily, and, as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was, indeed, perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation of either close friendships or of deadly enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Anything is welcome which may break that long monotony—a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarrelling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances. It is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth, in genuine beauty and deformity, heroic virtues and abject vices which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no

domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for whom she had no regard, and who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The Baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the *Duke of Grafton* reached Madras Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover. It was arranged that the Baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, that the Baron should afford every facility to the proceeding, and that, during the years which might elapse before the sentence should be pronounced they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already borne to Imhoff.

CHAPTER IV.

APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganised state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits ; but he knew that the favour of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He, therefore, with great judgment, determined to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected, since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks, and had become warriors and negotiators.

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the Government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta on the same plan which they had already followed during more than two years.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the Council Board, Bengal

was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised, a system which was, perhaps, skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

But though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi ; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission ; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles ; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

There was still a Nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

The English Council which represented the Company at Calcutta was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in Council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in Council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions ; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real direction of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, were almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word "political" as synonymous with "diplomatic." We could name a gentleman, still living, who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal administration of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorschedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to nearly a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the Nabob, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

CHAPTER V.

BENGALEE CHARACTER DESCRIBED.

One of these was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might, perhaps, have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But, tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honour.

His competitor was a Hindoo Bramin, whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance ; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmixed with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting to his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. A European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to

endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sidney.

In Nuncomar the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false charge against another Hindoo, and tried to substantiate it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that, while professing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was the medium of a correspondence between the Court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and similar practices he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration, even among the British rulers of his country.

Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense power on a man to whom every sort of villainy had repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the Nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be entrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan. When Hastings became Governor, Mahommed Reza Khan had held power seven years. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now Nabob ; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DOUBLE GOVERNMENT DISSOLVED.

Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to hurt the reputation of his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company ; for at that time the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas and gold mohurs were measured out by the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned

poor—than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It was confidently believed by Lords of the Treasury and members for the City, that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock and large relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed ; and the Directors, naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement of Mahommed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country entrusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar ; for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the Council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to arrest him together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived ; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

The Governor bore no good-will to Nuncomar. Many years before they had known each other at Moorshedabad ; and then a quarrel had arisen between them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mahommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the Directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his Council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight the palace of Mahommed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys. The minister was roused from his slumbers and informed that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been entrusted with the government of Bahar. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw

from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, "I never saw a native fight so before." Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the Council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

The inquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the meantime the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system—a very imperfect system, it is true—of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The Nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was entrusted to a lady of his father's harem, known by the name of Munny Begum. The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted; yet he could not safely be trusted with power, and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought before a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of state, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed

both the art and inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charge had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

Nuncomar had purposed to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruin. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moors-hedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

CHAPTER VII.

AN EMPTY TREASURY.

In the meantime Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government was in an embarrassed state, and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, "Thou shalt want ere I want." He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The Directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts—in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently, and send more money; practice strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money;" this is, in truth, the sum of almost all the instruc-

tions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, being interpreted, mean simply, "Be the father and the oppressor of the people ; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious." The Directors dealt with India as the Church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these despatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their vicegerent at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon ; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the Great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had entrusted to their care ; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British Government, assumed the royal title ; but in the time of Warren Hastings such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahomedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The

Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, he added that of Vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan, just as in the last century the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him, and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPACT AGAINST THE ROHILLAS.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that during the last ten centuries a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun till that memorable campaign in which the Cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabul and Caudahar were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large

tracts of land, fiefs of the spear, if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things, in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe, the warlike colony became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honourably distinguished by courage in war and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valour. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them ; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilkund.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defences ; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline ; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the Imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day ?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the govern-

ment of Bengal and to send remittances to London, and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas, and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that for the loan he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

“I really cannot see,” says Mr. Gleig, “upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatized as infamous.” If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this—to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules of civilized warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah’s hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise, that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. We are almost ashamed to notice Major Scott’s plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who establishes an empire in India is a *caput lupinum*? What would they have said if any other Power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta without the slightest provocation? Such a defence was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime and the hypocrisy of the apology are worthy of each other.

CHAPTER IX.

DEVASTATION OF ROHILCUND.

One of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted was sent, under Colonel Champion, to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. "The enemy," says Colonel Champion, "gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they displayed." The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, kept unbroken order while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, "We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit."

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine and fever and the haunts of tigers to the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian Government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs; and, though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the biographer. "Mr. Hastings," he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on while their villages were

burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion? Is any rule more plain than this—that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings is bound to take order that such power shall not be barbarously abused? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day valour and self-respect and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel; and it was very recently remarked by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

In the meantime Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian Government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General; that he should be assisted by four Councillors; and that a Supreme

Court of Judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This Court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council, and was entrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-General and Councillors were named in the Act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councillors, Mr. Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India. The other three, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

CHAPTER X.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND THE “LETTERS OF JUNIUS.”

The ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and long duration.

It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting for a moment to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius? Our own firm belief is that he was. The evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved:—First, that he was acquainted with the technical forms of the Secretary of State’s office; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the War Office; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of Deputy Secretary-at-War; fifthly, he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis passed some years in the Secretary of State’s office. He was subse-

quently chief clerk of the War Office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard speeches of Lord Chatham ; and some of these speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the War Office from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now, here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that more than two of them can be found in any other person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way. The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius ; nor are we disposed to admit, what is generally taken for granted, that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been mentioned, with the single exception of Burke ; and it would be a waste of time to prove that Burke was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority ? Every writer must produce his best work ; and the interval between his best work and his second best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest, than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest, than the Pilgrim's Progress to the other works of Bunyan, than Don Quixote to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that Junius, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters which bear the signature of Junius : the letter to the King and the letters to Horne Tooke have little in common, except the asperity ; and asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

Indeed, one of the strongest reasons for believing that Francis was Junius is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures, are known to have been written by Junius, and from his dealings with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for

public virtue. "Doest thou well to be angry?" was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, "I do well." This was evidently the temper of Junius; and to this cause we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added that Junius, though allied with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institutions with a respect amounting to pedantry, pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervour, and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds that if they wanted votes they might buy land and become free-holders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

It is not strange that the great anonymous writer should have been willing at that time to leave the country which had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Everything had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius. His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the ministry; his opinions on colonial affairs from the Opposition. Under such circumstances he had thrown down his pen in misanthropical despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date the nineteenth of January, 1773. In that letter he declared that he must be an idiot to write again; that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. "But it is all alike," he added, "vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity." These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time Philip Francis was on his voyage to Bengal.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE COUNCIL.

With the three new Councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old

acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the Inns of Court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion to dispute. The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends. But the arrival of the new members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings, condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier, recalled the English agent from Oude and sent thither a creature of their own, ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories, and instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion, and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta government. At the same time they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government House, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the Council Board in the transaction of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions

which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man, and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a crowd of crows pecking a sick vulture to death—no bad type of what happens in that country as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian Government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined, and in twenty-four hours it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that in that part of the world a very little encouragement from power will call forth in a week more Oateses and Bedloes and Dangerfields than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government House. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper, containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of the Board, another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council-room was not a proper place for such an investigation ; that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness of judges ; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing. Nuncomar, as everybody knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out ; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds ; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a clerk from the War Office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and of the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him

but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Macleane. But Macleane was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General.

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levee, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats, and partly by wheedling, the villainous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men in the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold ; and he had acted accordingly. The Judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then and still is the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar, and this they did. In the meantime the assizes commenced ; a true bill was found, and Nuncomar was brought before Sir

Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

CHAPTER XII.

HASTINGS, IMPEY AND NUNCOMAR.

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal is a question. But it is certain that whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, had led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling; nor had it ever crossed their minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

The excitement among all classes was great. Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that even at the foot of the gallows Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British Empire in India began to exist, and to whom in the old times Governors and members of Council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos were infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality,

he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse for a sound price is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahomed Reza Khan. The Mahomedan historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable.

The day drew near ; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence consistent with the law should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face ; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the Great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and looked round him

with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hoogley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited ; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man "to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation." These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar ; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honour, liberty, all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself concerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dis-

honest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man when his dearest interests are at stake and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island : suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown ? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favour to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence.

While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal a place-holder, a place-hunter, a government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the Council Board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Everything that could make the warning impressive—dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding —was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority, and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the Governor-General might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger while beating

the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO REMOVE HASTINGS.

In the meantime intelligence of the Rohilla war and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues had reached London. The directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantage. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist on having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win."

The Regulation Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connection, such as no Cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the minister was to displace Hastings, and to put Clavering at the head of the government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced. Eleven voted against Hastings; ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great sale-room presented a singular appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the

Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of Government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshalled the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy councillors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division ; but a ballot was demanded, and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the Directors and the Cabinet. The Ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper, no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke Parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill for depriving the Company of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

Colonel Macleane, who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the Crown lawyers had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of securing an honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, Macleane thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been entrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form ; but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of the Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

But while these things were passing in England, a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other, and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed ; their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered ; and it was provided that the whole inquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion, plans which he lived to see realized, though not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in

India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheler was coming out immediately, and that till Wheler arrived the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the Court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General.

He afterwards affirmed that, though his agent had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a council, at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison at Fort William and of all the neighbouring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court and to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for obeying what the judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful government. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the Court. The Court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still

Governor-General under the Regulating Act ; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities ; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government House. Clavering, as the Mahomedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the General's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later.

Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the Council Board, generally voted with Francis. But the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped, and when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly reappointed. The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

CHAPTER XIV.

COOTE, THE MAHRATTAS, AND THE FRENCH.

The crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless mis-government, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to

which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great Powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the Councils of George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic ; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy ; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea ; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly from the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns at Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-fields of Tanjore.

That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were everywhere separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at Hyderabad, still called themselves the viceroys of the house

of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta States, though really independent of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee, a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang and toyed with dancing girls in a State prison at Sattara, and of his Peshwa, or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoore.

Some months before war was declared in Europe the Government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Louis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was formed for the defence of the river. Nine new battalions of sepoys were raised, and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General, with calm confidence, pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer procrastinated. The authorities at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown

of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

The authorities of England had wisely sent out to Bengal as commander of the forces and member of the Council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years have elapsed. Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier days ; nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing to keep him in good humour. It must, we fear, be added that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his allowances and less about his duties than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and his influence unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Polliore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer who holds one of the highest employments in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead.

Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier.

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had, during some years, weakened and

disgraced the government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling—and of patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute—to forget private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was needed in Council, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty.

A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a few months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the Council Board.

CHAPTER XV.

IMPEY'S REIGN OF TERROR.

Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, and the other political; and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the Presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and, therefore, though we may complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by every advocate. Costly

here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly, the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees at Westminster Hall ; and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delays and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honour, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings ; and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit ; and the feeling of a Quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our country would be if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings and of women of the most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory.

A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by mystery ; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India,

with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population—informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and, above all, a banditti of bailiff's followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English sponging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mahomedans, sanctuaries respected in the East by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the Government, withstood the miserable catch-poles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

The members of the Government were, on this subject, united as one

man. Hastings had courted the judges ; he had found them useful instruments ; but he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large ; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the Government and ruinous to the people ; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship, if that be the proper word for such a connection, which had existed between him and Impey, was for a time completely dissolved. The Government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the King's Justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device, which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient ; and he knew Impey well. The expedient in this case was a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by Act of Parliament, a judge, independent of the Government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the Government of Bengal ; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the Government could, at a moment's notice eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck ; Bengal was saved ; an appeal to force was averted ; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act had been framed put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost unless he was paid to be still ; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored

that pirates should be able to exact ransom by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the ransom with corrupting the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It was quite another question whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agreeable to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him, and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between honourable men, when they may make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villainy. "I do not," said Hastings, in a minute recorded on the Consultations of the Government, "I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe,

was not mortal. Hastings inquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him ; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the Council Board.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE STRUGGLE WITH HYDER ALI.

In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.

About thirty years before this time a Mahomedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected ; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue ; his grandfather a wandering dervish. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general ; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Lewis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor ; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age, but his intellect was as clear and his spirit as high as in the prime of manhood.

Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

Had Hastings been Governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the South provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon ; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

Hyder was everywhere triumphant. The sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants ; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip trees and near the gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George.

There were the means, indeed, of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force ; Baillie was advancing with another. United they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder. But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art, of which the propriety is obvious even to men who have never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known

that a great French expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. A swift ship, flying before the south-west monsoon, brought the evil tidings in a few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable Governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to intrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound, and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the Board. The reinforcements were sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash; but he was still a resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honour of the English arms.

In the meantime Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the departure of his vehement and implacable colleague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the British in India, always great, had, by the vigour and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

But, though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means not only of carrying on the government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

CHAPTER XVII.

BENARES AND THE CONFLICTING RULE.

His first design was on Benares, a city which, in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps, which descended from these swarming haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges, were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die ; for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's and Versailles ; and in the bazaars, the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital and the surrounding tract had long been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo Prince, who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India the lords of Benares became independent of the Court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given ; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality.

About the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call

for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side, it has been contended that he was an independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view.

Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is that during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the house of Tamerlane and the establishment of the British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away ; the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Everybody kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance. Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh Capet had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Normandy ? The words "constitutional right" had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be unjust and immoral ; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the ordinances of Charles the Tenth were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral ; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte was illegal.

Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments, not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or could plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas, again, the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah ; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the

same degraded situation into which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single government which was at once a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*, which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

Hastings clearly discerned what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground ; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency ; and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch. Sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him ; that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practice this legerdemain : but in the controversies of governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this, that where an ambiguous question arises between two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English Government was the strongest in India. The consequences are obvious. The English Government might do exactly what it chose.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHEYTE SING PLUNDERED AND BENARES ANNEXED.

The English Government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince ; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings, who, less perhaps from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779 an equal sum was exacted. In 1780 the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home ; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for the concealment. Public spirit, or the fear of detection, at last determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English Government. The Rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the South of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of

his vassals as a criminal. "I resolved,"—these are the words of Hastings himself—"to draw from his guilt the means of relief of the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency." The plan was simply this, to demand larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British Government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad to Rohilkund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance, and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the Government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money, not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

In taking these strong measures, Hasting scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is possible that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges ; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild ; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he

outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoy's who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoy's were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his gaolers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah, from the other side of the river, sent apologies and liberal offers: They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large earrings of gold. When they travel, the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers; and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice to prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiation were needed, and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself made a premature attack on the insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men, and the survivors were forced to retire.

This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Popham a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours above thirty thousand men left his standard and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country for ever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed Rajah ; but the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

By this revolution an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum ; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army and divided as prize money.

CHAPTER XIX.

HASTINGS SETS COVETOUS EYES ON OUDE.

Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste ; throughout his

dominions, wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished, and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off; his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How long the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide? The stronger.

Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed, he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favourites.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third

party ; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late Nabob, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling ; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English ; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the government of Bengal. But times had changed ; money was wanted ; and the power which had given the guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith, not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilization, retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any ; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge ; they were permitted to make no defence ; for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping act of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the government of Oude.

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But, when they had separated, the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagements into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed ; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found, of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two ancient men, belonging to that unhappy class which a practice, of immemorial antiquity in the East, has excluded from the pleasures of love, and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts that beings thus estranged from sympathy with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two eunuchs ; and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These men were, by the orders of the British government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the Princesses. After they had been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture ; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this

was not the worst. It was resolved by an English government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier :—

“ Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper.”

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the Princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their coffers, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE RECALLED.

But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressible alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays of palanquin-bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read, for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath to the deponents with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin and posted back to

Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of term. The cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice, he had no more right to inquire into the crimes committed by Asiatics in Oude than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had for sometime occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close of the American war, two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In one Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connection between the Company and either of the great parties of the State. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes, therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons, breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An Act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms, and an address was presented to the King, praying that Impey might be summoned home to answer for his misdeeds.

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the

proprietors of India stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service ; and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were entrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the Government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippoo ; and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

CHAPTER XXI.

REVIEW OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers : and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them ; but in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida ; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian Islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected ; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies,

was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy he educated at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Lewis the Sixteenth or the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government, will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flails, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman ; that he was sent from school to a counting-house ; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments ; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

It must be added, that while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in Council. The preservation of an empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a

government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried ; not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies ; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr. Percival. But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet ; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations till a remedy could be found resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long enduring ; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy.

The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready ; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation ; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater ; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.

Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced

to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished ; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and on one or two occasions even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith, to substitute the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece, transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted ; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president, but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which the student of Oriental letters derived from his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. The Brahminical religion had been persecuted by the Mahomedans. What the Hindoos knew of the spirit of the Portuguese Government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

CHAPTER XXII.

HASTINGS'S POPULARITY IN BENGAL.

It is, indeed, impossible to deny that in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalees to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalees and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers, who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity such as other Governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other Governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion ; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was, indeed, in many respects faulty ; but the Bengalee standard of good government was not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea ; and the immense rice harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas ; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable that the oldest man in Bengal could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the constant success

of Hastings, and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty, made him an object of superstitious admiration ; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English ; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

The gravest offence of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal ; for those offences were committed against neighbouring states. Those offences, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate ; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate interest of the State. This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless, the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognize a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained, and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three million sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais*

Royal. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story because Mr. Gleig, who cannot but have heard it, does not, as far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way ; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the roundhouse of an Indiaman for her accommodation, on the profusion of sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence ; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments "his elegant Marian" reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

After some months Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river, and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TAKES FINAL LEAVE OF INDIA.

Of his voyage little is known, except that he amused himself with books and with his pen ; and that among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity and honour it is impossible to speak too highly, but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with a marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the "elegant Marian," was not less gracious to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting, and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks, which they had passed without one dissentient voice. "I find myself," said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, "I find myself everywhere, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country."

The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed, that sagacity, that judgment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him ; not that his abilities were at all impaired ; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar : who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his

tools ; who had deposed Cheyte Sing ; and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand ; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them ; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors, the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings entrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence ; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs ; he was very tedious, and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Everybody who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff upon Hastings, signed *Asiaticus*

or *Bengalenis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott ; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunkmakers and the pastrycooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these volumes. We will give a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as “that reptile, Mr. Burke.”

In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body, but not that of his mind ; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill. The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy ; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the government inferior only to that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian Government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the Government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still remained on the journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust ; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured ? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. Pitt declared that this was the only reason which prevented the advisers of the Crown from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the adminis-

tration who was deeply committed to a different view on the subject. He had moved the resolution which created the difficulty ; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he had presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies ; he had fixed his hopes on new objects ; and whatever may have been his good qualities—and he had many—flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support ; and the ministry was very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in Parliament and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The followers of the Coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly-carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honour to accept from him, were favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed that the great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalised by the pencil of his predecessor ; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue, propounded the question, what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's ; the galaxy of jewels, torn from Indian Begums, which adorned her head-dress ; her necklace gleaming with future votes ; and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased—Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PROSECUTION—TRIBUTE TO BURKE.

Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and ability. He laboured, indeed, under one most unfortunate defect, want of fluency ; but he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in Parliament he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it on all occasions with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer, but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he shewed on this occasion ; but they have altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the Coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the Coalition, and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the Coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the Crown, and calling for peace with the American Republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox, and loaded with the favours of the Crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French Republic. We surely cannot attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784 had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface ? The plain truth is, that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins. For Burke was a man in

whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas or Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

His knowledge of India was such as few even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country have attained, and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts and on tables of figures was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses ; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out of darkness, and dulness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had in the highest degree that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracerу of the mosque, where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums and banners and gaudy idols, the devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river-side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince and the close litter of the noble lady ; all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched ; from

the bazaar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection in Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstances, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruption of lads who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness, or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions are ill-informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the Court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed, it may be remarked that the very persons who called him a mischievous maniac, for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastile and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a sensibility which domineered over all his faculties.

CHAPTER XXV.

BURKE DEFEATED ON THE FIRST CHARGE.

It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke, would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless, and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attacks should be over. They accordingly resolved to force on a decisive action with an enemy for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return ; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

Burke began his operations by applying for papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in their debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended to support Hastings. In April the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation ; and it was intimated to him, that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the Commons.

Here again Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House ; but that, if he could not trust himself to speak, and found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences

accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government House in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defence must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the sergeant-at-arms.

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van ; for Dundas had formerly moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilkund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency ; but he put a bold face on the matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the State as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas ; and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with the greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and coffee-houses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward ; that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop ; that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the Privy Council, and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India Board. Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to

the House of Lords, and had even said that, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FOX, PITT AND SHERIDAN.

But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the thirteenth of June Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted, and both the friends and the opponents of the Minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr. Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck, and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with the horrors which had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr. Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground for an impeachment, or even for a vote of censure. If the offence of Hastings was really no more than this, that, having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of

which mullet was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but for that of the State, demanded too much, was this an offence which required a criminal proceeding of the highest solemnity, a criminal proceeding to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense and integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings except the course which Mr. Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a great example necessary for the preventing of injustice and for the vindicating of the national honour, and might on that ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offence of Hastings had been atoned for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted against the impeachment on both charges. With great diffidence we give it as our opinion that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that the delinquencies of the early part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They first represented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences; and they then prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the Ministry could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their places and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination

to give up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the Opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful Minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the government without asking questions were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce, often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of the Government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench, sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favourite with the King. He was the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the Cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the meantime, the accused person would be excluded from honours and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty at Court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing ; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within four and twenty hours Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the speech if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion ; and the question was carried by a hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

The Opposition, flushed with victory, and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords and to impeach the late Governor-General of high crimes and misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the sergeant-at-arms and carried to the bar of the Peers.

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail ; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble.

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head ; and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition. But when the name of Francis was read, a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms, that they had been at feud during many years, that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each others lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate ; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English, the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box, is the prosecutor ; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be able, well-informed, energetic, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted : and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TRIAL IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

In the meantime the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly, and on the thirteenth of February, 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster ; but perhaps there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid ;

or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations of the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half-redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry, The Peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords—three-fourths of the Upper House, as the Upper House then was—walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior Baron present led the way. George Elliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the Realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The greyold walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. They were gathered together from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a Senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spec-

tacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There, too, was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The Sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis*; such was the aspect with which the great Proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession, the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and subsequently became Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been

fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment ; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness has unfitted Lord North to the duties of a public prosecutor ; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenuous, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone, culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BURKE'S IMPEACHMENT.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered, by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be fol-

lowed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the Court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days ; but the hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer ; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard ; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jahires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law.

There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their House and the Hall ; for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their Lordships retired to discuss it apart, and the consequence was, as a Peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788, when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, occupied the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the country. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs ; and within a fortnight after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-General of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment. In 1789 the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered, the circuits were beginning. The judges left town ; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence ; and the consequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeachment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected. Whatever confidence may be placed in the decision of the Peers on an appeal arising out of ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality when a great public functionary, charged with a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined ; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be quite unfit to try such a cause as that of Hastings. They sit only during half the year. They have to transact much legislative and much judicial business. The law-lords whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a busy session the

Upper House should give more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge-shooting in order to bring the greatest delinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be unreasonable indeed. A well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

The result ceased to be matter of doubt from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable man in the most important transactions of private life. These rules at every assizes save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many thousands of miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal ; but it is clear than an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of history.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ACQUITTAL OF HASTINGS.

Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried ; and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

In the following year the Parliament was dissolved ; and the friends

of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be dropped ; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none ; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few, and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The Great Seal was borne before Lord Loughborough, who, when the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thurlow, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior Barons. Of about a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment ? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved, with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and

behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. One cause of the change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined to depreciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though, in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal, brought a cuddy-full of his admirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. Retired members of the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle, regarded as an oracle on an Indian question ; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added that, the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal

obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mahomedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over smallpox and murder; nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in everything except character, he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expences of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused Governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse, the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his

private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished ; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin ; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto ; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the Board of Control was necessary ; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings, and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the meantime, was reduced to such distress that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity for life of four thousand pounds was settled on Hastings ; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired Governor to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr. Pitt remained in power ; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics ; and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man, so able and energetic as Hastings, can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be entrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment ; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest.

CHAPTER XXX.

IN RETIREMENT—DEATH.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly spent at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalise in Worcestershire the delicious leechee, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden. The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Thibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed at Daylesford ; nor does he seem to have succeeded better with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this

talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these memoirs that the first thing which he did in the morning was to write a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls ; and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves, we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been,—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting,—we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Sewards.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed ; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons ; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed ; public feeling had undergone a complete change ; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathize with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeach-

ment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall ; for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows ; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws ; and, in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William ; and His Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage ; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults—and they were neither few nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of

the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot, probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line—not only had he repurchased the old lands and rebuilt the old dwelling—he had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy.

Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

Our feeling . . . 1813—Note in the illustration Macaulay's judicial attitude.

Oliver Cromwell—(1599-1658) a zealous Puritan and member of the Long Parliament (1640-1653), which he forcibly dissolved, and became Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England. *See Green's "Short History," Sect. Puritan England.*

Lely, Sir Peter—a famous portrait painter of the 17th century.

Curl-pated minions—the foppish favourites of Charles I., who wore long *curls*, whilst the Roundheads—Cromwell's followers—wore their hair close-cropped.

Great Danish sea-king—Hastings, who at the head of a number of Norse freebooters, invaded England in the time of King Alfred, but was defeated by the latter, and driven out of England in A.D. 896.

Renowned Chamberlain—The favourite minister and Lord High Chamberlain of Edward IV. He was beheaded by Richard III. in 1483.

White Rose—the floral emblem of the Yorkists in the prolonged contests (1455-1485) with the Lancastrians, whose emblem was the *red* rose. This struggle for the succession to the Crown of England is known in history as the "Civil Wars of the Roses."

The Tudors—(1485-1603) the ruling dynasty in England from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of Elizabeth.

Earldom of Huntingdon—a claimant for the Earldom of this house, which had been dormant for thirty years, came forward at the beginning of the present century, and, after proving his descent from an early branch of the family, gained possession of the title and estates.

Speaker Lenthal—Speaker of the House of Commons at the time of the "Long Parliament."

Isis—The Thames river above Oxford bears this name. The rivulet spoken of in the text is a tributary of the Thames. Daylesford is situate on this stream.

But no cloud . . . to die—Note this fine passage, and the essayist's manifest sympathy with young Hastings' ambition and the associations that filled the boy's mind.

Westminster School—founded by Queen Elizabeth for the education of forty boys, who are known as "Queen's Scholars."

Vinny (Vincent) Bourne—An English schoolmaster and fine Latin scholar. His pupil, Cowper, the poet, ranks him with Ovid. He died in 1747.

Churchill, Charles—(1731-64) author of *The Rosciad*, and other satirical writings.

Coleman George [the elder]—(1733-94) a translator and playwright.

Lloyd, Robert—(1733-64) poet and miscellaneous writer.

Cumberland, Richard—(1732-1811) a dramatist and essay writer.

Shy and secluded poet—Wm. Cowper (1731-1800), author of "The Task," the ballad of "John Gilpin," &c. He resided for a long time at Olney, on the Ouse, in Buckinghamshire.

Elijah Impey, Sir—afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and, according to the essayist, discreditably connected with Hastings in his arbitrary acts in India. For his many corrupt deeds he was recalled to England and impeached in 1783. Macaulay represents him as a vile tool of Hastings: note how the essayist foreshadows this by speaking of him here as a school-fag. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, an eminent jurist, has since shown that Macaulay's portrait of the Chief Justice is exaggerated and untrue. This authority treats as calumnious the notion

that there was a corrupt compact between Impey and Hastings to get rid of Nuncomar in order to serve a political purpose.

Christ Church—one of the largest of the Oxford Colleges. It was founded in 1525 by Cardinal Wolsey.

Writership . . . Company—See Sketch of Indian History. The staff of the E. I. Co. consisted of merchants, factors, and writers. The *writer* entered the service as a clerk or book-keeper; from this position he rose to be a *factor*, who inspected and bought the goods, and finally attained the position of a *merchant*, who had charge of the “Factory,” or place of trade.

CHAPTER II.

Fort William—erected by the British in 1757 to protect Calcutta (on the Hooghly) the capital of Bengal. It was the scene of the massacre of the “Black Hole.”

Dupleix, Joseph (pronounced *Du-plā*)—Governor of the French possessions in India. At first, a clever but unscrupulous trader; afterwards, a scheming politician and intriguer for territorial possessions and power in India; for a time successful, but ultimately unfortunate, ruined and disgraced. See Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive. Also, Sketch of Indian History (p. ix).

The War . . . Carnatic—See Sketch of Indian History (p. ix).

Clive, Robert—Baron Plassey [1725-74]. See Macaulay's essay.

Mogul—the Mahomedan ruler at Delhi.

Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar—Bengal is the largest and most populous of the twelve provinces of British India; capital, Calcutta. Orissa and Bahar, the two provinces within the presidency of Bengal; Bahar lies to the north, Orissa to the south.

Surajah Dowlah—See Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive.

Dutch Company—See Sketch Indian History (p. viii).

Nabob—(corruption of *Nawab*) deputy of the Nizam, who derived his power from the Mogul rulers at Delhi.

Black Hole—a confined gaol-room at Fort William, in which 146 English prisoners were thrust over a hot summer night, in June, 1756. All but 23 were found dead in the morning, having been suffocated or trampled to death. See an account of the atrocity in Macaulay's essay on “Lord Clive.”

Plassey—This battle, which was fought in a grove, 70 miles north of Calcutta, practically established British rule in India. It was won by Lord Clive, June 23rd, 1757, with a small army of 2,000 Sepoys, 1,000 Europeans, and 8 cannon, against the forces of Surajah Dowlah, numbering 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and 50 cannon.

Meer Jaffier.—After the victory of Plassey, Dowlah was deposed from the vice-royalty of Bengal, and by his successor put to death. The British gave Jaffier the nominal rule of the province; but he was afterwards dethroned in favour of his son-in-law, Meer Cosim. The latter, however, revolted, and at Patna massacred 2,000 Sepoys and 200 Europeans. By the battle of Buxar, won by Sir Hector Munro in 1764, Bengal was reconquered, and both it and the adjoining province of Oude became subject to Britain. Oude was for a time restored on the payment of an enormous ransom. From this period the native rulers were for the most part puppets of the British administration of Calcutta, and the East India Co. levied on the territories of the Nabobs at its will. See essay on Lord Clive.

On one side . . . morality.—Note this fine passage, in which the essayist sets forth the malign influence of a dominant over a subject race.

Mr. Vansittart—Interim Governor of Bengal in Lord Clive's absence in England (1760-65). Hastings was a member of Council at Calcutta during his administration.

There was . . . freebooter.—Note here the evils of the East India Co.'s rule at the period, and the attitude of Hastings, in taking no part in the common plunder.

Rotten Boroughs,—towns, the electorate of which could be bought by aspirants for Parliamentary honours.

St. James' Square,—a home of fashion in the neighbourhood of St. James' Palace, London.

Buccaneer—a pirate. **Galleon**—a Spanish trading-ship.

CHAPTER III.

Revival of Letters—an intellectual movement which spread over Europe at the beginning of the 16th century.

It is to be remembered . . . intercourse—Observe Macaulay's sympathy with culture, and his approving comment on Hastings' literary tastes, and the projects he had in his mind for extending a knowledge of Oriental languages.

Company—the East India Co.

Ha'fix and Ferdu'si—Persian poets, the former of the 13th, and the latter of the 10th century.

Johnson, Samuel, (1709-84)—a famous critic and lexicographer, whom Smollett, the novelist, called "The Great Cham of Literature." See Boswell's "Life of Johnson," and Macaulay's essay thereon.

The Directors—The London Managers of the East India Co.

Madras,—the capital of Madras Presidency, and the earliest settlement of the E. I. Co. in India.

Pagodas—An East India coin, worth about \$2.

Indiaman—one of the old sailing ships trading to India.

Franconia—now Bavaria, in Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

Fort St. George—Madras.

Constitutional check—a provision in the Constitution, or form of Government, to check abuses.

Delhi,—a wealthy city, on the Jumna, in the northern part of Hindostan, and for over 200 years the seat of the Mogul power in India.

There was . . . Pepin.—Note Macaulay's wealth and ready resources of illustration, though here it is rather recondite. The same illustration, almost in the same words, does duty in Macaulay's essay on Lord Clive, *q. v.*

Augustulus Odoacer—At the period of the Fall of the Western Empire the Roman emperors were mere tools of the German generals. Odoacer, (434-493) a son of a chieftain of one of the Scyrii tribes of the Danube, entered the imperial service, and in the year 475, at the head of his barbarian mercenaries, invaded Italy and demanded to be made proprietor of one-third of its soil. Romulus Augustulus, a youthful son of Orestes, was then Emperor. On Odoacer's demand being refused, his fellow-soldiers deposed Augustulus and made Odoacer King of Italy. For thirteen years he reigned with undisputed sway. In Theodoric's invasion of Italy Odoacer was repeatedly defeated, and finally perished at hands of the Goth.

Merovingians, Charles Martel, Pepin—Merovingians a once vigorous dynasty that ruled Germany from the time of Clovis to that of Charlemagne. With the death of Dagabert (A. D. 638) the Kings became mere shadows of power beside their high officers of State. These were called Mayors of the Palace. Charles Martel and the Pepins of Haristel, about the end of the Merovingian line, filled this ancestral office, and were the real rulers of the country. Their descendants afterwards succeeded to the throne of Germany.

At present,—When Macaulay wrote his essay, in 1841. The power is now vested in the Crown, represented by the Government of the day, and by the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. Pitt, the younger, (1759-1806) son of the Earl of Chatham, and for 17 years Prime Minister of England. In 1784 Pitt passed in Parliament what is known as "The

India Bill," establishing a Board of Control over the affairs of the East India Company. *See* Macaulay's essay on Pitt.

Mr. Dundas—(1740-1811)—afterwards Viscount Melville. A Scottish statesman in the British Parliament who assisted Pitt in passing his India Bill.

Burke, Edmund,—(1730-97)—a distinguished statesman, eloquent orator, and able philosophic writer. With the two other great Whig orators of the period—Fox and Sheridan—Burke won undying fame by his magnificent speeches on the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

CHAPTER V.

Mussulman,—a believer in the religion of Mahomed.

Important, lucrative and splendid—A severe taste would cancel the third adjective: it has a weakening effect.

Brahmin.—An Indian of the highest or priestly caste.

Maharajah—*lit.* “Great Rajah.” Rajah is the title borne by a native prince; his territory is called a *raj*.

Caste—a social status rigidly observed among the Hindoos. It rests upon distinctions of race, occupation, and geographical position, which sharply define the lines of society in the East. Occupation generally marks the dividing line. The four classes which caste recognizes are the Brahmins or priests, the soldiery, the traders, and the agricultural population. As a rule, the Hindoo remains for life in the caste in which he is born.

What the Italian . . . Sidney.—Note in this clever disquisition on the Bengalee character; 1, Macaulay's love of minute details; 2, his fondness for anti-thesis; 3, his apt comparisons and wealth of illustration; 4, the art with which he piles up an indictment; and, 5, the climactic force with which he brings home to the reader the ingrained deceit of Nuncomar. The passage is also a good example of parallel construction.

He lives . . . vapour bath.—This may be said to be literally true; for the atmosphere of the Valley of the Ganges, owing to the great heat, is at times like that arising from a steam bath. Its weakening effect upon the physical and mental framework of the Bengalee is well brought out in the illustration which immediately follows.

Ionian,—one of an effeminate race, once inhabiting Ionia, in Asia Minor. **Juvenal**, (A.D. 30-100), last of the Roman poets and satirists.

Jew . . . Dark Ages.—The Jews of the period (A.D. 500-1400) were in so-called Christian countries, a down-trodden race, subjected to every outrage.

Stoics . . . ideal sage—a sect of Greek philosophers, led by Zena, who taught their followers to be indifferent to suffering and all ill.

Mucius,—a valorous Roman, remarkable for his fortitude in bearing suffering.

Algernon Sidney—(1622-83)—an English patriot who, with Lords Russell and Essex, was accused of taking part in the Rye House Plot against Charles II. He was found guilty, though on sufficient evidence, by the infamous Judge Jeffreys, and beheaded on Tower Hill. His demeanour at his execution has gained him the admiration of history.

French . . . Carnatic.—*See* Sketch of Indian History, (p. ix).

CHAPTER VI.

Leadenhall Street—A street in London in which were the offices of the East India Co.

Double Government,—the dominant rule of the English and the subordinate local rule of the native princes. Clive, it will be remembered, entrusted the internal government of Bengal—the collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintainence of order, &c.—to a native minister of the Nabob of the Province. It was this Hastings now determined to get rid of, and to assume for the Company the entire

internal administration. The dual system of government extended from 1765, when Clive established it, to the present time, 1772, when Hastings abolished it and removed the Provincial exchequer from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, appointing European officers, under the title of Collectors, to superintend the collections, and to preside in the revenue courts. In this great administrative work Hastings was to be no less successful than in his military policy, though it led him into very questionable transactions with, and at times into rapacious measures in regard to, some of the native rulers.

Patna,—capital of the then Province of Bahar, situate on the Ganges, north-west of Calcutta. It was the scene of the first Sepoy mutiny, quelled by Sir Hector Munro, and came into prominence during the revolt of Meer Cossim. Schitab (pr. She-tawb) Roy was at this period Rajah.

Munny Begum—female guardian of the young Nabob of Bengal, who is said to have made presents to Hastings, to whom she owed her appointment. Records concerning her presents were excluded as evidence on Hastings' trial.

CHAPTER VII.

Lacs of rupees,—a lac is 100,000; a silver rupee is worth about fifty cents; a gold rupee about \$7.50.

Govern leniently . . . rapacious.—Note here Macaulay's scarcely concealed sarcasm and his use of antithesis.

Corah and Allahabad,—two provinces, lying in the north-west of India, sold by the English to the Nabob of Oude. The city of Allahabad is at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

On the plea . . . concessions.—Since the decline of the Mogul power the Mahrattas exercised no little influence in Northern Hindostan.

Vizier . . . Hindostan—Sujah Dowlah, Prince of Oude, (1754-75) assumed the title of Vizier (Prime Minister) or deputy of the Mogul.

Electors . . . Grand Marshal—rulers of two Prussian provinces, who had a vote in electing the Emperor of Germany: hence the title of "Electors."

CHAPTER VIII.

Rich . . . Sanscrit—Sanskrit was the ancient language of India, and that in which the Sacred Books of the Hindoos were written,

Hyphasis and Hystaspes—the Sutlej (? the Beas) and the Jellum, the great feeders of the river Indus, which drains part of the northern Himalayas.

Ghizni—a town and fortress in Afghanistan, taken by storm in 1839 during English interference with Afghan affairs.

Great mountain ridge—the Hindoo Koosh range of the Himalayas, through the passes of which the Mohammedan conquerors of India entered Hindostan.

Cabul and Candahar the two chief cities of Afghanistan; the former is the residence of the Ameer.

Rohillas—a brave but turbulent people, of Afghan origin, who, since Ahmad Shah's desolating invasion in 1761, had held possession of Rohilkund, a province lying to the north-west of Oude, between the Himalayas and the Ganges. In the years 1773-4 the Rohillas were crushed by the forces of the Nabob of Oude and the English troops Hastings had lent out for hire. Hastings' conduct was wrong in principle, for the Rohillas had not provoked the English: while to aid in their extermination was to countenance a warfare of oriental savagery, however much the alliance and the loan of the troops relieved the ever-pressing wants of the Bengal treasury. Macaulay's story is however an exaggeration of what really occurred, and his glittering phrases lack the sobriety of truth. See on this point, Sir Alfred Lyall's "Warren Hastings," in the Series of English Men of Action, pp. 44-50

Kumaon—formerly a province lying close to the Himalayas, near the sources of

the Ganges. The latter, rising in the Himalayas, flows south-east to the sea through the North-west provinces, Oude, Bahar, and Bengal. Its length is 1,500 miles.

Aurungzebe—(1563-1707) the sixth and most princely of the Mohammedian emperors.

Lahore . . . **Comorin**—*i.e.* from the north to the south of India. Lahore, the capital of the Punjab; Cape Comorin, the most southerly point of Hindostan.

Sujah Dowlah—*See* note, previous Chapter, “Vizier . . . Hindostan,” (not to be confounded with Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal, of “Black Hole” infamy).

Catherine to Poland—During the reign of the Empress Catherine II. of Russia (1762-96) there were three partitions of the once Kingdom of Poland, viz., in 1772, in 1793, and in 1795. Austria and Germany had a share in the spoil; but the bulk of the territory was annexed by Russia.

Bonaparte . . . **Spain**—In 1808 Napoleon, wishing to annex Spain and Portugal to France, sent an army to enter Madrid and proclaim his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, King. This led to what is known in British history as the “Peninsular War.”

Was it . . . day?—Note, in this fine tribute to British daring, the irony that lies beneath it.

If we understand . . . other—Note Macaulay’s indignant comment on the infamous Rohilla war, and his hot arguments in reply to the view of the matter taken by the biographer of Hastings.

German Princes . . . **Americans**—Hessians and other Continental troops were used as “auxiliaries” by Britain in the Revolutionary war. The German princes who let them out for hire Macaulay terms Hussar-mongers—*i.e.* traffickers in horse-soldiery.

Major Scott (of the Bengal army)—a member of the British Parliament, to whom Hastings, on his return from India, foolishly entrusted his defence against impeachment.

Caput lupinum—*lit.* “a wolfish head,” or, freely interpreted, a hungry and unscrupulous invader.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Hastings . . . **violated**—Here the essayist, with keen irony, again falls upon Hastings’ biographer.

Lord North—British Prime Minister (1770-82) and tool of George III. during the American Revolutionary war. He resigned office at the close of the humiliating struggle, and was succeeded by the Whigs. By the “Regulating Act” (1773) Hastings became Governor-General of India.

CHAPTER X.

Sir Philip Francis—(1740-1818) Public interest in this character is owing not so much to his relations with Warren Hastings in India, nor to his active hostility to him in Parliament, but to the theory which connects him with the authorship of “The Letters of Junius.” These famous political articles, which trenchantly attacked the Ministry of the day, appeared anonymously in the *Public Advertiser* during the years 1769-72. The secret of their authorship, though Macaulay, on what seems good evidence, traces it to Francis, has never been disclosed.

Lord Chatham—(1708-78) William Pitt, the elder, a great English statesman, and for a time, one of the chief opponents of Sir Robert Walpole. He was Prime Minister during Clive’s rule in India, and at the period when Wolfe was laying siege to Quebec. During his administration the war against France was conducted with great spirit, and her navy was all but annihilated. He opposed the taxation of the American Colonists, but was equally opposed to granting them their independence. While delivering a powerful speech in the House of Lords against making peace with America, he was

seized with an apoplectic fit, and died a few weeks afterwards, on the 11th of May, 1778. *See* Macaulay's essay.

Lord Holland—an English statesman, descended from Henry Fox, Secretary of State to George II. He was trained for public life under his famous uncle, Charles James Fox. *See* Macaulay's essay.

The internal . . . Francis.—Note here Macaulay's argument for considering Francis the author of Junius's Letters, based on similarity of literary style and on resemblance in moral character.

Corneille—(1606-84) a great French dramatist.

Ben Jonson—(1574-1637) English poet-laureate, dramatist, and friend of Shakespeare.

Bunyan, John—(1628-88) “the Bedford tinker” who wrote his renowned “Pilgrim's Progress” in gaol. *See* Macaulay's essay.

Cervantes—(1547-1616) Spanish novelist, and author of “Don Quixote.”

Horne Tooke—(1736-1812), political writer and author of a philological treatise, entitled “The Diversions of Purley.”

Woodfall—(1745-1803) printer of *The Public Advertiser*, in which “Junius's Letters” appeared. He was prosecuted on account of the publication.

Old Sarum—a “pocket borough” in Wiltshire, which the Reform Bill of 1832 deprived of representation in Parliament.

George Grenville—(1712-70) English Prime Minister, 1763-65, during the John Wilkes agitation.

Lord Suffolk—(1739-1820) John Howard, 15th Earl of Suffolk, a general officer in the British army.

Middlesex election—John Wilkes (1727-97), having been guilty of seditious language in articles written for his paper, *The North Briton*, while denouncing the ministry of the day for agreeing to the peace with America, he was prosecuted and fled to France. In 1768 he returned, and was elected to Parliament for Middlesex. He was thrice expelled from the House, and his expulsion gave rise to prolonged agitation and rioting. In this agitation the freedom of the press was first asserted, and the rights of constituencies against violation of the Constitution on the part of a despotic majority in the House of Commons, were vindicated.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir Elijah Impey—*See* note Chapter I.

Inns of Court—the four Law Societies of London—the Inner and Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn.

Mahrattas—This famous Hindoo confederacy, which had its rise in 1650 and its downfall in 1818, was composed of the several independent tribes ruled at various times by the chiefs Bonsla, Sevajee, Scindia, Holkar, and the Guicowar of Baroda. Each reigning house had its own distinctive territory, though they all raided, not only over the Deccan, but at times over nearly the whole of Hindostan. The English contests with the Mahrattas occurred during the years 1779-81, 1803-4, and 1817-18. With the latter year the Mahratta power was completely broken. The son of the last reigning Rajah, who was a British prisoner in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, was the infamous Nana Sahib, whose connection with the mutiny of 1857 is historic.

Some . . . helpless.—Note in the apt illustration in the first sentence of this passage the fate which not infrequently, though perhaps undeservedly, befalls a man whom fortune deserts. Note, also, to what lengths Asiatic mendacity went in the endeavour to accomplish Hastings' ruin, and see what befel Nuncomar in the way of retaliation.

Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield—three scoundrels who, at the close of the 17th century, pretended to have discovered that plots against the English Government were being hatched by Catholics.

Westminster Hall—the “Hall of Rufus,” the great historic edifice built by William II., which adjoins the English Houses of Parliament.

Biographers excepted—a sarcastic reference to Hastings' biographer, Mr. Gleig, who wished to relieve the Governor of responsibility for the fate of Nuncomar. Macaulay, while he condemns the act, holds Chief Justice Impey, and not Hastings, responsible.

CHAPTER XII.

Dacca—once the capital of Bengal, 150 miles N.E. of Calcutta.

Lord Stafford—a Catholic nobleman executed in 1680 on a charge of treason made by Titus Oates. See note to page 31, line 1.

Tour to the Hebrides—an account of a visit paid by Dr. Samuel Johnson to the Scottish Hebrides, published in 1773.

Jones's Persian Grammar—a work published in 1771 by the eminent Asiatic scholar, Sir William Jones (1745-94).

CHAPTER XIII.

Would . . . win—Macbeth, Act 1, sc. V.

Court of Proprietors—General meeting of the E. I. Company shareholders.

Lord Sandwich—John Montagu (1718-92), an English statesman.

Berar—one of the central provinces of India, made over to British administration by the Nizam of Hyderabad.

CHAPTER XIV.

The crisis . . . dominions—England was at that time at war with America, France, Spain, and Holland. The personal ministry of George III. was as disastrous as the ministry of the first Pitt under George II. had been glorious. See Macaulay's review of Hastings' administration, Chapter XXI.

Armed . . . Baltic—a mutual compact by Russia, Sweden and Denmark to resist England's right of search on the high seas.

Straits of Calpe—Straits of Gibraltar.

Sevajee—(1627-80) founder of the Mahratta confederacy. He long waged war against the Mogul dynasty, and from the Emperor Aurungzebe extorted recognition of his kingdom.

The Bonslas . . . Holkar—See note on the Mahrattas, Chapter XI.

Guzerat—a province in Western Hindostan, on the Gulf of Cambay; capital, Baroda.

Malwa—a district to the east of Guzerat and south of Bundelcund.

Gooti—a fortified point on the Eastern Ghauts, to the north of Mysore.

Tanjore—a district in South-eastern India.

Double Government—The two system of rules in India—the one established by Clive and abolished by Hastings, and the other which arose out of the growing power of the independent princes and the decline of Mogul authority at Delhi; not to be confounded with "Double Government," Chapter VI.

House of Tamerlane—descendants of Timur, the Tartar, who in 1400 founded a new dynasty in the Mogul kingdom.

Roi faineant (*rwah fā-nā-ong*)—a lazy, do-nothing King.

Sattara—a fortified town on the Western Ghauts, south of Bombay.

Peshwa—The titular head of the Mahratta confederacy at Poonah.

Poonah—Formerly the capital of the Western Mahrattas, to the south of Bombay.

Aurungabad—a city lying to the n. e. of Bombay, a favourite residence of the Emperor Aurungzebe.

Bejapoore—a town in Bombay Presidency, west of Hyderabad.

Louis XVI.—(1754-93) King of France, beheaded during the Revolution. His consort, Marie Antoinette, was executed nine months after him.

Cairo—On the Nile; capital of Egypt.

Pondicherry—a city south of Madras, and chief of the French possessions in the Carnatic. It was captured by the English in 1760, and restored to the French in 1815. *See* sketch of Indian history.

Lascars—Native seamen of India.

Sir Eyre Coote—an Irish General in the British army, victor at Wandewash, 1760; at Pondicherry, 1761; and at Porto Novo, 1781. In this last engagement Hyder Ali was defeated, and shortly afterwards the first Mysore war was brought to a close.

Lally, Thomas—an Irishman in the French service, who commanded at Wandewash and Pondicherry.

Wandewash—a French stronghold in the Carnatic, situate between Madras and Pondicherry.

Pollilore, Porto Novo—two villages in the southern part of Mysore, scenes of the above-mentioned engagements.

CHAPTER XV.

The "Regulating Act," 1773—*See* Green's "Short History," chap. X., sec. II., p. 758.

Wat Tyler—the leader of a peasant insurrection in Kent in 1380, the origin of which was a taxgatherer's insult to a young girl of Dartford. Tyler was slain by the Lord Mayor of London.

Alguazils—(*al'ga'zeels*) a Spanish term for an inferior officer of justice.

Sponging-houses—places to which debtors used to be taken before committment to prison, and where bailiffs used to *sponge* upon them, or riot at their cost. *See* Johnson's Dictionary.

Rich, quiet, and infamous—Note the epigrammatic force of these words, and with what brevity they summarize the transaction.

Jefferies—(sometimes, Jeffreys) a judge of unsavoury fame who conducted the "Bloody Assize" after the Monmouth Rebellion, 1685.

CHAPTER XVI.

Dervise—a Mohammedan priest or monk of great austerity and professing poverty.

Louis XI.—King of France (1461-83) "of iron will and subtle though pitiless nature."

Hyder Ali—The two strongest Mussulman potentates in India at this period were the Nizam of the Deccan and Hyder Ali, of Mysore. Both were anxious to induce the Mahrattas to join them against the English. The Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahratta of Nagpore, Hastings, by his diplomacy, had pacified. The ruler of Mysore, incensed at the reckless conduct of the Madras Government, had, however, taken up arms, and his calvary ravaged the country to the walls of Madras. The Mysore army was not only well disciplined but admirably handled. For a time the fate of Southern India was in doubt. Hastings, with the help of Eyre Coote, at length saved it, and peace was concluded in 1784. Hyder Ali died in 1782, though his son, Tippoo Saib, lived to direct two later wars against the English, dying in the breach at Seringapatam when that fortress was stormed under General Harris. The assault was led by General Baird; and Colonel Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, participated in it. This event occurred while a brother of the latter, the Marquis of Wellesley, was Governor-General.

Coleroon—(better known as the Cauvery) a river rising in Mysore and issuing on the Coromandel coast, to the south of Pondicherry.

Mount St. Thomas—a high elevation contiguous to Madras.

Sir Hector Munro—at one time Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India and member of the Madras Council. He had a long and honourable military career in the East. He distinguished himself in engagements with Sujah Dowlah, with the Mogul Emperor, and with Hyder Ali. The mutiny at Patna was suppressed by Munro. See note “*Patna*,” Chapter VI.

Baillie, Colonel—After desperate conflicts with Hyder’s army this officer’s small but gallant force was obliged to surrender, and was cut to pieces.

CHAPTER XVII.

Benares—a city of great wealth, on the Ganges, and capital of the province. By the Hindoos it is esteemed the chief of the sacred cities of Hindostan.

His first design . . . Cashmere—a fine descriptive passage, enriched by the effective illustration in the closing sentence.

Sacred apes, holy bulls—In India both are considered sacred; ape-worship is common in the East.

Golconda—a city in the Dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad, once famous for its diamond mines. It was twice besieged by the Emperor Aurungzebe.

Cashmere—a province close to the Himalayas, and lying between the Punjab and Kashgaria. It is noted for its rich Cashmere shawls.

The great anarchy—Consequent upon the fall of the Mogul Kingdom (after the murder, in 1759, of the Emperor Alamgir II.) hastened by Persian invasion and Mahratta conquest. Upon the death of the Emperor there ensued a long period of strife among the native tribes for mastery in India. Mohammedan rule, after this, was merely nominal; while that of Britain became more and more dominant.

Cheyte Sing—Rajah of Benares. Hastings’ part in the Rohilla war, and his oppression and plunder of Cheyte Sing, the Queen mother and princesses of Oude, are great stains upon his reputation. The shameful story is told with considerable detail by Macaulay, and it forms the first of the charges in Hastings’ impeachment. For its motive, see the essay, p. 78, ll. 4-7. “The plan . . . possessions.”

Carlovingian empire.—**Hugh Capet**—The Carlovingian line of Franco-German sovereigns extends from Charlemagne to Louis (or Ludwig) V. At its dissolution, the Capetian line begins with the nominal rule, in 987, of Hugh Capet, Duke of the Franks. With the accession of this dynasty begins the line of French kings proper. The authority of Hugh Capet was not good throughout France. The dukes of Britanny and Normandy, while they paid homage to Capet, were supreme in their own districts.

Charles the Tenth, in 1824, succeeded Louis XVIII. on the throne of France, but was exiled six years afterwards, when Louis Philippe ascended the throne. Charles X. pursued a retrograde policy, attacked the freedom of the press, and encouraged Ultramontane pretensions. In July, 1830, he published the ordinances which threw Paris into the revolution known as the Three Days of Barricades, the result of which was to lose him his throne.

Prince Louis Bonaparte—“Louis Napoleon” is no doubt here intended. In August, 1840, the nephew of the first Napoleon, afterwards Emperor of the French, planned a second invasion of France with the object of succeeding to the throne. While an exile in England he left its shores with a small following, and landed at Boulogne, where he unfurled the Imperial standard, but was ignominiously beaten off, and subsequently captured and imprisoned. He afterwards escaped from the place of his confinement, and on the abdication of Louis Philippe, returned to France, and by the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1851, became President and subsequently Emperor.

Of the existing governments . . . chose—In these paragraphs we find some justification, though not on moral grounds, for Hastings’ conduct. Among the native rulers the real and the nominal sovereignty was, as Macaulay remarks, disjoined. So far as titles and forms went, the Mogul ruled; but the “heir of Tamerlane” was now a British captive, and his lieutenants were “independent princes.” As Hastings

viewed the situation, the native sovereigns might "play at royalty," but the English were the masters of India.

De facto—*Lat.* really; 'from the fact.' **De jure**—by right; 'from the law.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

He was now . . . breach—Cf. p. 37, ll. 9-17

Major Popham—a British officer who distinguished himself in the first Mahratta war. He captured Lahar and Pateeta, and stormed the rock-fortress of Gwalior, considered the key of Hindostan.

CHAPTER XIX.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah—Nabob of Oude. *See* Sheridan's great speech on the "Spoliation of the Begums," in connection with the impeachment of Hastings. Oude now dispoiled was finally annexed under Lord Dalhousie's administration in 1856. The axiom upon which that high-minded statesman acted was "the greatest good to the greatest number." Princely debauchees, his theory was, only cumbered the ground; and, in annexing Oude, he did so on the plea that "no false sentiment should preserve dynasties which had forfeited our sympathies by generations of misrule, or prolong those that had no natural successor."

Lucknow—At the period the capital of Oude, and, in 1857, famous as the scene of the relief, by Sir H. Havelock, of its beleagured English defenders during the Sepoy rebellion. It is situate on the Goomti, a tributary of the Ganges.

Chunar (Ku'')—a fortified town on the Ganges, about 20 miles s. w. of Benares.

The Begums—the wife and mother of Sujah Dowlah, Nabob of Oude. In 1775, when this ruler died, the two Begums claimed that his hoarded treasure, amounting to two or three millions sterling, had been made over to them as their private property, and could not be used as revenues of the State for the payment of tribute to the East India Co. or for any other purpose. The new ruler, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, by dint of coaxing, had got his mother and grandmother to dole out some of the treasure. It was the remainder Hastings set his eyes upon, and with the Nabob's connivance, endeavoured to wring from the princesses, with what success will be seen from the text.

Fyzabad—(modern spelling, *Faizabad*)—a town in the Province of Oude, 60 miles east of Lucknow.

CHAPTER XXI.

Not only . . . Hastings—At this period the United States (the "thirteen Colonies") had won independence; Ireland was putting forward a claim for her independence, and for a time (from 1782 to 1800) had been given a local parliament and by the treaties of Paris and Versailles England had surrendered to France and Spain possessions she had formerly wrested from these powers. In India, thanks to Warren Hastings, Britain had the while been wholly a gainer. *See* Green's "Short History," Chap. x, Sec. 2. (Page 761).

Lewis XVI. . . . **Emperor Joseph**—France and Germany were at the time two of the most populous states in Europe.

Marlborough . . . **deputies**—John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) while conducting the war in Spain and in Flanders, during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), had under him, besides his English troops, those of Holland and Germany. In his campaigns he was constantly thwarted by the German princes and the Dutch deputies. His military genius, nevertheless, enabled him to win great victories; though his political foes in England prevented him from long enjoying the honours of them.

Wellington . . . **Mr. Percival**—The Duke of Wellington, during the Peninsular war, was embarrassed at times by the want of ready support on the part of

the Spanish Juntas, or War Committee, and of the Ministry which represented the Portug Regency, while the Queen was insane. After the defeat at Corunna of Sir John Moore, Mr. Percival, the English Prime Minister, (1809-12) was also lukewarm in prosecuting the war against the French in Spain and Portugal: and he threw on Wellington the responsibility of remaining further with the English troops in the Peninsula. Wellington readily accepted the responsibility and added to the battle-flag of England the honours of Talavera, Badajos, and Salamanca.

Milton, John—(1608-74), one of England's chief poets and a great prose writer; author of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, &c.

Adam Smith—(1723-90), political economist, and author of *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, a work which may be said to have given birth to the doctrine of "Free Trade."

To substitute . . . Arabian expositions—In Hastings' time the practical wisdom of the West, with the fruit of discovery in every department of thought, had not been introduced into India. Learning was still represented by the puerilities of the Brahminical schools, or by the hazy notions of the physical world of the ancient Greeks, with Arabian interpretations thereof, which had got into India through its Median conquerors.

Virtuous ruler—Lord Wm. Bentinck, Governor-General (1828-35), and an enlightened ruler. He abolished *sati*, or widow-burning, and suppressed thuggism, or assassination by strangling. Macaulay penned the following inscription for Bentinck's monument at Calcutta:—"He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the natives committed to his charge."

Asiatic Society—an association of learned men who, at Calcutta, in 1783, founded a society for the study of Oriental literature.

Sir Wm. Jones—(1746-94), a famous Orientalist, "who by pointing out the connection of Sanskrit and Latin and Greek laid the foundation of philology."

Pundits—(sometimes, Pandits,) learned Brahmins, expounders of the law.

What . . . Christians—The Portuguese during the whole of the 16th century enjoyed a monopoly of the East India trade. The contemporary narratives of their conquests in India are full of horror. At Goa, which from 1510 has been the capital of Portuguese India, they established the Inquisition, and treated the Hindoos with the greatest cruelty, as enemies of Portugal and of Christ.

CHAPTER XXII.

Hurricane . . . cavalry—Note the beauty of the metaphor. The Mahratta cavalry were noted for the swiftness of their movements and the unrestrained force of their attacks.

Nurses . . . Sahib Warren Hostein—a fine touch this of Macaulay, and a happy illustration of the "superstitious admiration" of the native Hindoos for Warren Hastings. The whole passage is full of beauty.

Sahib—Lord; an East Indian courtesy title for an English gentleman.

Zemindar—a magistrate, landholder, and revenue collector.

Carlton House—a luxuriantly-furnished palace in London, given to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV.

Palais Royal—at the period, a royal residence in Paris, furnished with princely splendour.

"His elegant Marian"—the divorced Baroness Inhoff, whom Hastings married.

Sir Charles Grandison, Miss Byron—characters in Richardson's novel of *Sir Charles Grandison*, published in 1754. Sir Walter Scott speaks of the hero of this work of fiction as "the faultless monster that the world ne'er saw."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Oitum divos rogat—(*Everyone asks the gods for repose*); the opening line of Od. XVI., Bk. II., by the Latin poet. Horace, (B.C. 68).

Lord Teignmouth—(Sir John Shore), a civil servant in India who rose to be Governor-General (1793-8). His knowledge of India was in his time unsurpassed, and during his administration the “Permanent Land Settlement” was effected.

Who, like . . . need—Observe how nicely turned is this compliment, yet what censure it conveys.

Cheltenham—at the period, a fashionable English watering-place, in Gloucestershire.

Grattan, Henry—(1746-1820), an Irish orator and statesman, noted for his eloquent speeches on Irish independence.

Surrounded . . . Trafalgar—another illustration of Macaulay’s wonderful power of utilizing his vast knowledge for the purpose of illustration, by contrast or comparison. At Waterloo and Trafalgar, modern warfare being so different from ancient warfare, Hannibal and Themistocles would have been incapable of successfully directing an engagement.

Hannibal—(B.C. 247-183), the great Carthaginian general during the second Punic war.

Themistocles—(B.C. 514-449), Athenian general and statesman. By a stratagem of Themistocles the Persian fleet of Xerxes was destroyed by the Greeks at Salamis.

Wedderburn—(1733-1805), a Scottish judge and statesman.

Asiaticus—of Asia; **Bengalensis**—of Bengal.

Lord Mansfield—(1705-93), an eminent Scottish judge, known as the “silver-tongued Murray.”

Lord Lansdowne—(2nd Earl of Shelburne), a General in the British army, and statesman of the time of George III. In 1782, on the decease of the Marquis of Rockingham, under whom he filled the office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, he became Prime Minister. He died in 1805. The 5th Marquis of Lansdowne was lately Governor-General of Canada.

Thurlow—(1732-1806), an English judge and statesman. Was Lord Chancellor from 1783 to 1792.

Mr. Dundas—See note in Chapter IV. (p. 126).

The Coalition—the union, in 1783, of the Whigs under Fox and the Tories under Lord North, to oppose the ministry of Lord Shelburne. See Green’s “Short History,” Chap. X, Sec. 3, Page 764.

Brooke’s—a club in London, the favourite social resort of the leading Whig politicians.

Virgil’s third eclogue—a pastoral poem of the Roman poet Virgil, who died B.C. 19.

Depending questions—a metaphorical allusion to Mrs. Hastings’ priceless Indian ear-rings, which, with “her necklace gleaming with future votes,” were understood to be within the gift of the lady to those who would espouse her husband’s cause in Parliament.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Mistook . . . ostentation—a severe comment on Francis’s life-long hostility to Hastings. Macaulay in this passage would seem to characterize Francis’s moral indignation at Hastings’ conduct in India as a piece of self-righteousness.

Fox, Charles James—(1749-1806), one of the greatest of English statesmen, and a bitter opponent of Pitt and the war with France. Burke called him the “greatest debater the world ever saw.”

Burke . . . **French Republic**—In 1790 Burke published his famous *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, an eloquent attack on the principles of the Revolutionists rather than on its events. The French Revolution had its origin in 1789, in a revolt against the oppressive government of the aristocracy. The first Republic lasted from 1793 to 1804.

Las Casas, Bartolomeo de—(1474-1576), Apostle of the Indies and Catholic Bishop of Chiapa. His humane interest in the Indians of South America led him to

cross the Atlantic many times to plead their cause before King Ferdinand and the Spanish Court.

Clarkson, Thomas—(1760-1846), a Quaker philanthropist associated with Wilberforce in the crusade against the iniquity of the slave-trade. In 1808 he published his views on the subject.

A people . . . in common- Recent philological research shows that this statement is not correct. Both in blood and in language the people of Europe *are* akin to the people of India. This was not known, however, in Burke's day, nor in Macaulay's.

His knowledge . . . London—“This passage,” says Mr. Trevelyan, the essayist's biographer, “unsurpassed as it is in force of language and splendid fidelity of detail by anything that Macaulay ever wrote or uttered, was inspired by sincere and entire sympathy with that great statesman of whose humanity and breadth of view it is the merited, and not inadequate, panegyric.”

Imaum—a Mohammedan priest.

Beaconsfield—a town in Buckinghamshire, where Burke had his country residence, and where he lies buried. In St James's Street was his town residence.

Lord George Gordon—(1750-93), a mischievous maniac, the leader of a mob who, in 1780, on the pretext of seeking to repeal laws imposing penalties on Catholics, pillaged about London and inflamed the populace. Though acquitted on his trial for high treason, he afterwards fell into the hands of the authorities, and in 1793 died in prison.

Dr. Dodd—(1729-77), author of “*Beauties of Shakespeare*;” a fashionable preacher during the reign of Geo. II. and III., and at one time chaplain to the King. In 1777, he was executed for forging a bond on his patron, the Earl of Chesterfield.

Stamp Act—a measure passed in the English Parliament, in 1765, requiring the American Colonists to put stamps on legal documents, the sale of which would return a revenue to Britain. The obnoxious Act, though it was repealed in the following year, led to the War of Independence. *See* Green's “Short History,” chap. X., sect. II., page 746.

The Regency—In 1788, the king for a time became mentally deranged, and the Prince of Wales advanced his right to be Regent. The King, however, recovered, and held the sceptre till 1820.

French Revolution—*See* note, Chap. XXIV., Burke. . . French Revolution.

Bastile—A fortress in Paris latterly used as a prison. When the Revolution broke out, the populace stormed and destroyed it, as a hated symbol of tyranny. Its capture, says Mr. Green, was taken for the sign of a new era of constitutional freedom for France and for Europe.

Marie Antoinette—*See* note to Louis XVI., Chap. XIV.

CHAPTER XXV.

Lord Daylesford—a title derived from Hastings' ancestral estates in Worcestershire.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Grenville, George—head of the English Administration from 1763 to 1765.

William Wilberforce—(1759-1833), an English member of Parliament, noted for his philanthropy in the suppression of the slave-trade.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley—(1751-1816), a brilliant orator, statesman, and dramatist. At his death Lord Byron wrote the following well-known Monody:

“ Long shall we seek his likeness — long in vain,
And turn to all of him which may remain,
Sighing that Nature formed but one such man,
And broke the die—in moulding Sheridan ! ”

See speech on the Spoliation of the Begums.

Windham, Wm.—(1750-1810), an eloquent statesman, and member of the Coalition Ministry of 1783. Macaulay elsewhere speaks of him as “the high-souled Windham.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

There have been . . . right to left—We here come to the opening sentences of that fascinating word-picture so frequently quoted from Macaulay, the scene of the trial of Warren Hastings. How graphic is the picture need hardly be pointed out. The stately movement of the sentences; the animation of the style, with its balanced structure, abrupt transitions, and pointed figures of speech; the splendour of the imagery, the flashing of antithesis, and the crispness and vigour of the epigrams—so characteristic of the Essay as a whole—come specially out in the description of the scene in Westminster Hall. Note in the last four words of the present passage how the Essayist descends to what would seem triviality of detail, except that he wishes to make clear the allusion to the strange written characters of the Semitic languages, which are traced *from right to left*.

Plantagenets—a line of English monarchs from Henry II. (1154) to Richard II. (1399). The name is derived from the common broom of Anjou (*the planta genista*), a sprig of which Geoffrey, the father of Henry II., used to wear in his helmet. During the rule of the Plantagenets (See the “Good Parliament” [1360-77] under Richard III.) the Commons wrested from the Crown many practical reforms, and received many concessions in the interest of the people. The right of Parliament to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors, were among the privileges granted at this period.

Great . . . Rufus—See note to Westminster Hall, Chap. XI.

Bacon, Sir Francis—(1561-1626), statesman, author, philosopher, and judge. In 1621, while Lord High Chancellor, he was impeached for taking bribes and for other corrupt practices; and was fined and imprisoned. His sentence was afterwards remitted. Burke thus speaks of him: “Who is there that upon hearing the name of Lord Bacon does not instantly recognize everything of genius the most profound, everything of literature the most extensive, everything of discovery the most penetrating, everything of observation of human life the most distinguished and refined?”

Somers, John, Lord (1651-1716), a great Whig leader during the reign of William and Anne; an active promoter of the Revolution, friend of Addison, and Lord Chancellor. In 1701 he was impeached for alleged illegal practices, but acquitted, owing to a disagreement between the Commons and the Lords as to the mode of procedure against him.

Stafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of, (1593-1641), impeached by Pym, in the Long Parliament, for having plotted with Laud for subverting the Constitution and making Charles I. an absolute monarch. He was condemned to death by a “bill of attainder.” The eloquence of his defence is a matter of history.

Victorious party . . . fame—the Parliamentary forces opposed to Charles and Stafford, and which ultimately brought the King to trial and to his death. At his trial, in 1649, Charles bore himself with great dignity.

Queen . . . Brunswick—Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, wife of George III. **House of Brunswick, or Hanover**,—the line of sovereigns from George I. to Victoria.

Siddons, Sarah—(1755-1831), a great tragedy queen and actress, then at the height of her fame.

Historian . . . Empire—Edward Gibbon (1739-94), author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a work which gave a new impulse to historical studies. The history is grandly conceived and is rich in detail, though its style is heavily-laden and its tone contemptuous. It appeared during the years 1776-88.

Cicero—(B. C. 106-43), a great Roman orator and statesman. Verres, praetor of Sicily, was impeached (B.C. 70) for acts of cruelty, and Cicero conducted the prosecution. His orations on the occasion finely manifest his genius.

Tacitus . . . Africa—Tacitus (A.D. 55-117), a celebrated Roman historian, whose chief works extant are *Histories*, *Annals*, *Germany*, and *Life of Agricola*. Tacitus was one of the prosecutors of Marius Priscus, Roman Governor of Africa about the end of the first century.

Greatest Painter—Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92); **Greatest Scholar**—Samuel Parr, LL.D., (1747-1825), a renowned classical scholar and editor. *See* De Quincey's essay.

Charms of "her"—Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was privately married, in 1785, to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV.

Saint Cecelia—understood to refer to Mrs. Sheridan, whose portrait Sir Joshua Reynolds had painted in the character of the patroness of Music.

Mrs. (Elizabeth) Montagu—(1720-1800), founder of the "Blue-Stocking Club," an author of some note, and great friend of the eminent literary men of the time. *See* Doran's "A Lady of the Last Century," and Boswell's "Life of Johnson."

Ladies . . . Devonshire—In the election canvasses of the time, it was not uncommon for ladies to solicit for their friends the votes of electors. The Duchess of Devonshire is said to have gained for Fox the vote of a butcher by allowing him to kiss her.

The culprit . . . judges—Note in this brief paragraph the fine description of Hastings' dignified appearance at the Bar of the Peers; also note the animation of the narrator's style.

Mens æqua in arduis—a mind equal, or serene, amid difficulties.

Pro-consul—a Roman title for the Governor of a Province.

But neither . . . accusers—Note here the mode of transition, from the description of the accused to that of the accusers. It is easy yet effective, and has the art of exciting the reader by its quality of suspense.

Great age . . . eloquence—From Pericles (B.C. 450) to Demosthenes (B.C. 322).

English Demosthenes—Charles James Fox. Demosthenes (B.C. 388-322) was the greatest of Athenian orators.

English Hyperides—Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Hyperides, a contemporary of Demosthenes, and an eloquent Greek orator. His writings have not come down to us.

Ignorant . . . hearers—Burke by this time had lost the ear of the House, partly owing to his political attitude, and partly to the philosophic character of his speeches, which wearied the members.

Youngest manager—Charles, Earl Grey (1764—1845), an English statesman of chivalrous honour, who rendered great political services in his day. At the period of Hastings' trial he was but 24 years of age, and he held the office of Prime Minister when the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. Macaulay's panegyric is well-deserved.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

With an exuberance . . . all!—This is one of the most effective passages in the Essay. The Anaphora and the climax in the peroration will not escape the reader. Nor will the fine touch of the essayist be missed, where he alludes to the "resounding arches of Irish oak," as if the building itself sympathized, as has been remarked, with the great Irish orator.

Lac—one hundred thousand; **crore**—ten millions; **aumil**—court official; **sunnud**—a warrant; **perwannah**—a judge's order; **jaghire**—a tract of land; **nuzzar**, a present, or bribe made to a superior.

The King's illness—*See* note on the Regency, Chap. XXIV.

States-General—the Representative Assembly of France, which Louis XVI. summoned to meet during the Revolution, though it had not met since the time of Richelieu. It was afterwards called the National Assembly. "No sooner did it meet at Versailles," says Mr. Green, "than the fabric of despotism and privilege began to crumble."

Oracles of jurisprudence—By Metonymy, for the great law officers of the Crown, on whom the *Hausse* depended for advice in legal matters.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Woolsack—the seat of the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords.

Scattered . . . death—Friendships had been estranged by the political differences of the time.

The great chiefs—Burke, Sheridan, Fox, Windham, Grey.

He saw . . . Pantheon—Observe the effective use of Anaphora, and the keen irony which characterizes this passage from Burke. Note also how it depreciates the value of Hastings' testimonials.

Logan, John—(1784-1788), divine, poet and miscellaneous writer. In 1783 Logan published a tragedy entitled "Runnimede," founded on the story of Magna Charta; and in the following year he brought out a defence of Warren Hastings. He is a type of the political parson of the time. *See Adams' "Dictionary of English Literature."*

Simpkin's Letters—an account in verse of the Hastings' Trial, one of the many squibs which the proceedings evoked. Published in 1790.

Anthony (Tony) Pasquin—the name of an old Roman cobbler, who was wont to make cutting remarks about his neighbours. The name was assumed by Williams for low political objects.

Addington, Mr. Henry—(1757-1844). Premier (1801-4) in a ministry of the second rank of political eminence in England. Green speaks of him as "a man as dull and bigoted as George (III.) himself." He owed his elevation to office by opposing Catholic Emancipation.

CHAPTER XXX.

Allipore—a suburb of Calcutta.

Covent Garden—the chief market in London for flowers, fruit and vegetables.

Thibet—An extensive plateau north of the Himalayas.

Bootan (sometimes Bhutan)—an independent province in the n.e. of India, between Assam and the Himalayas.

Trissotin—a gallant who affects poetry in Moliere's play of *Femmes Savantes*.

Dionysius—(B.C. 430-367) an Athenian general and *dilettante* in literature.

Frederic (the Great)—(1712-86), King of Prussia (1740-86) and a successful general who, however, dabbled in letters.

Hayley, Wm.—(1745-1820), poet and dramatist. He wrote a *Life of Cowper*, published in 1803.

Seward, Wm. Henry—(1746-99), a now forgotten miscellaneous writer and collector of anecdotes.

Sheldonian Theatre—The great hall in Oxford where university degrees are conferred.

Guildhall—a civic hall in London where distinguished people are entertained by the city fathers.

With all his faults . . . obloquy—a touching passage, one of the few instances of pathos in Macaulay's writings.

Great Abbey—Westminster Abbey, where Hastings' accusers, Pitt and Fox, lie buried. Note the beautiful figure, "that temple of silence and reconciliation."

Great Hall—Westminster Hall.

Richelieu—(1585-1642), a great French statesman and cardinal. The period of his power and influence was from 1624 till his death.

Cosmo de Medici—(D. 1574), a statesman of the Florentine Republic, and liberal patron of learning and the fine arts.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

[Chief Incidents in Warren Hastings' Career.]

YEAR.	AGE	EVENT.
1600		East India Company granted its first charter.
1623		Massacre of English by the Dutch at Amboyna.
1640		Madras founded ; Calcutta, 1645 ; Bombay, 1665.
1658		Mogul Emperor Aurungzebe began to reign. (Died, 1707.)
1698		English acquire Calcutta by purchase.
1709		Amalgamation of rival East India Companies.
1725		Robert Clive born. (Committed suicide, 1774.)
1732		Warren Hastings born. (Died 1818 ; age 86.)
		Edmund Burke born. (Died 1797.)
1740		Sir Philip Francis ("Junius?") born. (Died, 1818.)
1742	10	Hastings at Westminster School.
		Dupleix made Governor of French India.
1746		Madras surrenders to French. (Restored 1748.)
1747		Clive enters E. I. Co.'s service as ensign.
1749		Charles James Fox born. (Died 1806.)
1750	18	Hastings arrives in India. Clerk in Bengal.
1751		Clive victorious at Arcot.
1752	20	Hastings sent to trade at Cosimbazar.
1756		Massacre of English in Black Hole at Calcutta.
1757	25	H. prisoner and secret agent of E.I.C. at Moorshedabad. Battle of Plassey gained by Clive.
1758		Clive takes Chinsurah from Dutch. Governor of Bengal.
1759		William Pitt (son of Earl of Chatham) born. (Died 1806.)
1760		Clive raised to peerage as Baron Plassey.
		Sir Eyre Coote defeats French at Wandewash.
		George III. King of England. (Died 1820.)
1761	29	Hastings made member of Council at Calcutta.
		Sir Eyre Coote takes Pondicherry from the French.
1763		Revolt of Meer Cossim. Massacre at Patna.
1764	32	Hastings returns to England. Battle of Buxar.
1767		Clive's rule in India terminates.
		(to 1772) Dual system of administration in Bengal.
1769	37	Letters of Junius commenced ; ended 1772.
		Hastings returns to India as member of Council at Madras.
1772	40	“ made Governor of Bengal.
		“ removes Mahomed Reza Khan.
		“ sells Corah and Allahabad to Oude.
1773		The Regulating Act passed by British Parliament.
		Sir P. Francis made a member of the Supreme Council at Bengal, and Sir Elijah Impey appointed Chief Justice.
		Supreme Court of Judicature established at Calcutta.
1774	42	Hastings made Governor-General of India.
		English troops lent to conduct Rohilla war.
1775	43	Hastings accused in Council of taking bribes.
1776		Nuncomar condemned by Sir E. Impey and executed.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(*Continued*).

YEAR.	AGE	EVENT.
1777		Hastings quarrels with the Council and the Directors.
1778	46	“ marries Baroness Imhoff.
1780	48	Pondicherry captured by Sir Hector Munro.
		Hastings fights a duel with Sir Philip Francis.
		(to 1799) Wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib in Carnatic.
		Hyder Ali defeated by Sir E. Coote at Porto Novo.
1781		Plunder of Cheyte Sing and the Begums.
		Benares made subject to the East India Co.
		Hastings accused of taking a bribe from Nabob of Oude.
1784		Pitt carries his India Bill in Parliament.
1785	53	Hastings resigns and returns to England.
1787		Burke proposes to impeach Hastings.
1788	56	Hastings tried for high crimes and misdemeanors.
1794	62	“ acquires ancestral estates at Daylesford.
1795	63	“ acquitted, April 23.
1799		End of third Mysore war: Wellington at Seringapatam: Tippoo Saib killed and territory annexed.
1800		Lord Macaulay born.

GOVERNORS AND GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA
UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1758-1858.

1757.—Lord Clive, first Governor.	1805.—Marquis of Cornwallis, 2nd Administration.
1760.—Howell, Mr.	1806.—Earl of Minto.
Vansittart, Mr.	1815.—Earl of Moira (Marquis of Hastings).
1765.—Spencer, Mr.	1823.—Earl Amherst.
Lord Clive.	1826.—Lord Wm. Cavendish Bentinck.
1767.—Harry Verelst.	1835.—Sir Chas. Metcalfe (<i>pro tem.</i>)
1769.—John Cartier.	1836.—Lord Auckland.
1772.—Warren Hastings; first Governor-General, 1774.	1842.—Earl of Ellenborough.
1786.—Marquis of Cornwallis.	1844.—Viscount Hardinge.
1793.—Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).	1848.—Marquis of Dalhousie.
1798.—Lord Mornington (Marquis of Wellesley).	1856.—Earl Canning.

VICEROYS UNDER THE CROWN, 1858-1888.

1858.—Earl Canning.	1876.—Earl of Lytton.
1862.—Lord Elgin.	1880.—Marquis of Ripon.
1864.—Sir John (Lord) Lawrence.	1884.—Earl of Dufferin.
1869.—Earl of Mayo.	1888.—Marquis of Lansdowne.
1872.—Earl of Northbrook.	

NOTES ON SCOTT'S "IVANHOE."

CHIEF CHARACTERS IN THE NOVEL.

CEDRIC THE SAXON, of *Rotherwood Grange*, not yet reconciled to the Norman Conquest.
WILFRED OF IVANHOE, his disinherited son, returned from exile in the East.

THE LADY ROWENA, Cedric's ward, beloved by Ivanhoe.

GURTH, swineherd; WAMBA, jester or fool, in Cedric's household.

ATHELSTANE, of *Coningsburgh*, a Saxon Knight, and Ivanhoe's rival in love.

SIR PHILIP DE MALVOISON, a neighbour of Cedric's.

THE PRIOR OF AYMER, Abbot of Jourvaulx.

KING RICHARD I. (*the Black Knight*), returned from the Third Crusade.

PRINCE JOHN, brother of Richard I. (*Cœur de Lion*).

SIR BRIAN DE BOIS-GUILBERT, a Norman Knight-Templar.

REGINALD FRONT DE BOEUF,

RICHARD DE MALVOISIN,

HUGH DE GRANTMRSNEL,

RALPH DE VIPONT,

MAURICE DE BRACY,

Norman

Knights

Templar.

LUCAS DE BEAUMANOIR, Grand Master of the Templars.

CONRADE DE MALVOISON, his attendant knight.

DAME ULRICA, of *Torquilstone*.

ISAAC OF YORK, a Jew money-lender.

REBECCA, his daughter, secretly in love with Ivanhoe.

LOCKSLEY (Robin Hood) an outlaw.

FRIAR TUCK, of *Copmanhurst*.

HIGG, a Saxon peasant. SAXON OUTLAWS.

Knights, Squires and Attendants at a Tournament. Period 1194. Localities—Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.

SIR WALTER SCOTT's *Ivanhoe*, like *The Talisman*, is a tale of the Crusaders at the close of the Twelfth Century. Richard the First of England ("Lion-Heart") is a prominent figure in both stories. The scene of *The Talisman* is Syria, during the Third Crusade; that of *Ivanhoe* is England, on the return of Richard from Palestine and his release from imprisonment in Germany. The chief localities familiar to us in *Ivanhoe* are Yorkshire, where was the ancestral home of the "disinherited" Saxon hero of the story, Leicestershire, the scene of the tournaments at Ashby de la Zouche, and Nottinghamshire, the

scene of the woodland life, in Sherwood Forest, of Robin Hood and his "merry men." The novel furnishes a fascinating but idealized picture of society in the Middle Ages, full of the romance of the period and of the glamour of a martial and chivalrous age. We have glimpses in the story of the public and private life of our Saxon and Norman ancestors—the domestic meal, the formal banquet, the storming of a baronial stronghold, the tournament, the solemn trial, and judicial combat. Among the personages introduced to us are Cœur de Lion and his brother Prince John ; Knights, Crusaders, Jews, and Outlaws ; Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and the gladesmen of the Forest of Sherwood, with Saxon peasants, swineherd and jester. Some of the characters are vigorously sketched and stand boldly out from the canvass ; others are lacking in individuality and are less vividly drawn. The story as a whole, however, is a realistic picture of contemporary England at the period.

In the tale there are certain historical inaccuracies which seem to indicate that its author had first intended that the story should describe an era nearer to the Conquest, probably that of the First Crusade, with its hero, Robert of Normandy. The early portions of *Ivanhoe* manifestly deal with a social life which belongs to the close of the eleventh century, when the relations between the Saxon and the Norman were still hard and bitter. Later on in the story we come to a change in this respect, when the two races were beginning to blend and to stand on common ground, in resistance to the designs of King Philip of France and to the treacherous intrigues of Richard's brother, Prince John. To this later period belongs the picture given us of the cruel and profligate life led by the Knights-Templar, whose haughty patrician Order came to a summary close in the year 1340. Another element which at the time provoked social ferment was that of the Jews, a community of traders and money-lenders whom the Church and the people hated, and who were

allowed, only by sufferance, to domicile themselves in special quarters of the cities, called *Jewries*. In the time of Richard I. the Jews were subjected to great cruelty and hardship, and they had to pay heavily for whatever rights were allowed them. In the reign of Edward I. they were expelled from England and were not again permitted a footing in the Kingdom for three hundred and fifty years. Issac of York may be taken as an unhappy representative of the money-lending Jew of the period, who by his special arts absorbed much of the wealth of the people, and during lawless times was made to disgorge it under the screw either of fanaticism or of the need of money for the King's empty exchequer.

OUTLINE OF THE PLOT.

To understand the plot of the story, which we purpose briefly to outline, it is necessary to premise that Cedric, "one of the few Saxon thanes who still retained the ample possessions of his forefathers, and bravely made head against the insolent usurpations of the Norman nobility, had long acted as guardian to the Lady Rowena, a descendant of the illustrious Alfred (the Great), in whose issue he still nourished a feeble hope that the ancient line of the English monarchs might be restored. Though himself of the noblest race, he did not conceive his family entitled to aspire to this lofty alliance; and, while the great object of his patriotic anxiety was to unite the lovely Rowena to the noble Athelstane of Coningsburgh, he had banished his only son from his presence for having presumed to solicit the favour of the royal beauty. Wilfred of Ivanhoe (the 'disinherited' son), though conscious of having made an impression on the tender heart of Rowena, had submitted in silence to this exile; and had not abated his father's displeasure by following the fortunes of the Norman Richard in his chivalrous exploits in Palestine, where it was understood he had performed many feats of valour, and endured

many wrongs and hardships ; though the imperfect communication that could be maintained with that distant region had long rendered his fate uncertain.”*

The story opens with a picture of two of Cedric’s domestics tending swine in a forest adjoining his domain ; one of them is the keeper of the herd, the other is the household jester or fool. A characteristic dialogue is maintained between the two, about their several occupations and common sufferings from the Normans, when they are interrupted by the approach of the Prior of a neighbouring abbey, accompanied by Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert, attended by two Moorish slaves. The party inquire the way to the dwelling of Cedric, on whose hospitality they mean to encroach for that night’s lodging, as they travel to an approaching tournament at Ashby-de-la-Zouche. They find a Pilgrim in the wood, who guides them to Rotherwood, where they are received with haughty dignity. At the evening meal, a wandering Jew (Isaac) seeks the shelter of Cedric’s hall for the night. On account of his race he finds himself in the midst of a disdainful society, though the Pilgrim from compassion shows him consideration and resigns to him his seat at table. Lady Rowena, solicitous for news of her lover, turns the conversation to the Holy Land and to the honours won there by the Knights-Templar, and elicits the information that Ivanhoe had gained as much renown as any of the Norman Knights who had followed “Lion-Heart” to the Holy Land. In the colloquy that ensues, Sir Brian admits that he had been worsted by Ivanhoe in a tournament in Syria, but boastfully declares that, were his vanquisher now in England, he would dare him to another encounter. The Pilgrim or Palmer (who is Ivanhoe in disguise) replies that were his antagonist near the challenge would be soon answered. “If Ivanhoe,” he

* From a critique on “Ivanhoe,” contemporary with its first publication, in the *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1820, to which the Editors are indebted for not a little of the following outline.

says, "ever returns from Palestine, I will be surety that he meets you." The Lady Rowena, on behalf of her absent lover, confidently affirms that "he will meet fairly every honourable challenge." Later in the evening, Lady Rowena plies the Palmer with anxious inquiries about the Knight of Ivanhoe, of whom he evasively disclaims any further knowledge than that he proposed about that time to return to England. When all had retired, the Palmer learns of a plot, on the part of Bois-Guilbert and his Moors, to waylay the Jew on the road to the tournament at Ashby, and of this he informs the Jew, and, with the assistance of Gurth, they together escape from Rotherwood.

The next incident is the Passage of Arms at Ashby, presided over by Prince John, then engaged in his treasonable plots with the French King against his brother Richard. Hither come Cedric and Rowena, Athelstane, Ivanhoe, (still keeping his disguise, though now presenting himself in knightly array), Isaac the Jew and his daughter Rebecca. Among the group of Knights-Templar, is also present Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert. The tournament continues for two days, Ivanhoe in sable armour, with the legend 'disinherited' on his shield, meets and discomfits the defiant Sir Brian, and, as victor, has the honour of naming Lady Rowena 'Queen of the Lists.' At the second day's jousting, another unknown knight appears and with Locksley (Robin Hood) takes part in the fray, aiding Ivanhoe to win further honours at the hand of Rowena. In receiving the latter, he had to bare his head and was thus recognized by his lady-love and by her guardian, his father. At this juncture, the knightly victor falls down in a swoon, the result of a wound in his side, and is borne off the field to be nursed by the Jew and his daughter. Meanwhile, consternation falls upon Prince John and his followers at the rumour of the return of Richard I. to England.

The plot now thickens. De Bracy, a profligate knight of

Prince John's faction, agrees with Bois-Guilbert to entrap the Saxon party of Cedric and Rowena,—who have been joined in the forest by Isaac and the fair Jewess, bearing Ivanhoe in a litter,—and to carry them off to Front-de-Bœuf's Castle, where De Bracy and Sir Brian are to demand the hands of their female captives and the Jew is to be liberated on a ransom. The plot is successful, Gurth and the faithful jester alone contriving to escape. The latter carry news of the outrage to Locksley and his woodsmen. These, with the assistance of Friar Tuck and the Black Knight, who had aided Ivanhoe at the tournament, take instant measures for a rescue. In the interior of the castle, in the meantime, a variety of scenes are being enacted. "The worthy owner, with the Templar's two black slaves, are in the dungeon, threatening to broil the poor Jew on a gridiron, unless he agrees to pay a mighty ransom. De Bracy is unsuccessfully striving with the scorn and the tears of Lady Rowena in one turret, and the Templar menacing all manner of abominations to the fair Jewess in another; while the valiant Cedric is bursting with indignation in his prison hall." Very vivid and exciting is the account of the storming of the castle, and spirited is the descriptive dialogue that ensues between Rebecca and Ivanhoe, for the heroic Jewess had escaped Sir Brian's designs and returned to her attendance on the wounded knight. Wamba, the jester, gets access to the castle in the disguise of a friar and aids Cedric, his master, to escape. After a desperate struggle, the latter, in concert with the Black Knight (King Richard) and the sturdy bowmen of Sherwood Forest, carry the fortress by assault and give it to the flames. Sir Brian manages to cut his way through the attacking force with Rebecca in his arms and makes off with his prize. The others gain their freedom.

The king now declares his presence in England and at the Castle of Athelstane is joined by Ivanhoe, though still suffering from his wounds. Here a message is brought to Ivanhoe of the

mischief that threatens the lovely Rebecca. De Bois-Guilbert had taken her off to the Preceptory of Templestowe, and to save his friend the Templar, the grand-master, had given out that Rebecca had exercised a magic spell over Guilbert, which had led him to decamp with her. To give colour to this explanation of his profligate conduct, the poor Jewess was put on her trial for sorcery, the death-issue of which she escapes by challenging and receiving the privilege of trial by combat. No champion however appears for Rebecca. The day of her doom arrives and she is about to be burnt at the stake, when a knight, urging his horse to speed, appears on the plain, advancing towards the lists. The knight is Ivanhoe. The gage of battle is thrown down and accepted by Bois-de-Guilbert. "The overtired horse of Ivanhoe falls in the encounter; but the Templar, though scarcely touched by the lance of his adversary, reels and falls also. When they seek to raise him, he is found to be dead,—a victim to his own contending passions.

The story now draws to its close. The king appears on the scene, Malvoison is arrested for high treason, the grand-master of the Templars, with a threat of an appeal to Rome, withdraws with his followers from the Kingdom, and Prince John, by his brother's clemency, is pardoned. The nuptials of Ivanhoe and Rowena now take place at York in the presence of the king; and the heart-sore Rebecca, after presenting the bride with a casket of costly jewels, leaves England with her father for Granada.

SUGGESTIONS FOR READING THE NOVEL.

(1) The pupil should read the novel over in his own way for the story, noting carefully the characters, and distinguishing the *leading* from the *subordinate* ones.

(2) In reading it a second time, the pupil should keep in view the questions on the novel (to be prepared by the teacher) as if he intended to answer them.

(3) Then, once a term, certain of these questions should be selected for examination, and two hours, at least, should be given to the questions submitted to the pupil to answer. In answering, the aim should be *consecutive* thinking, and in order to attain this, the pupil should be directed to make out a preliminary skeleton of the plot, as a framework for any subsequent theme-writing on the novel. This framework will save the pupil from the three common faults of youthful essay writers :

- (1) Aimless wandering, through not knowing from the beginning how the argument is to end.
- (2) The omission of some good point in its proper place, and its insertion in some quite inappropriate place.
- (3) The lack of proportion. The principle parts of an essay are the introduction, the theme proper, and the conclusion. These should be symmetrical ; the first and last should be subsidiary to the second.

Set down first the skeleton ; then clothe it so that the bones are not prominent ; afterwards run the outline into the essay in a natural manner using it merely as a guide to the thoughts.

In writing the theme, the pupil should make use of his previous reading as far as possible by way of illustration.

- (4) The themes should be read carefully by the teacher and the criticism noted in the margin of the pages in such a manner as will enable him to recall all the mistakes or defects observed while reading them, when the papers are returned to the pupils.

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